

This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

+ *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.

+ *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.

+ *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.

+ *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at `http://books.google.com/`

ENGLISH FACULTY
OXFORD
UNIV.
LIBRARY

J 40·80 PAT

Oxford University

ENGLISH FACULTY LIBRARY

Manor Road, Oxford.
(Oxford 49631)

This book should be returned on or before the latest date below:

18 OCT 1973

03 DEC 1992 CANCELLED

29 APR 1976

5 NOV 1976

3 MAY 1979

CANCELLED

CANCELLED

CANCELLED

15 OCT 1987

26 APR 1990

25 APR 1991

Readers are asked to protect Library books from rain, etc. Any volumes which are lost, defaced with notes, or otherwise damaged, may have to be replaced by the Reader responsible.

300078490V

J40.80 Pa

ISAAC CASAUBON

1559—1614

O DOCTIORUM QUICQUID EST ASSURGITE
HUIC TAM COLENDO NOMINI!

BY

MARK PATTISON

RECTOR OF LINCOLN COLLEGE

LONDON

LONGMANS, GREEN, AND CO.

1875

[*All rights reserved*]

OXFORD:

BY E. PICKARD HALL AND J. H. STACY,

PRINTERS TO THE UNIVERSITY.

CONTENTS.

		PAGE
1.	PARENTAGE AND EDUCATION. 1559—1578 . . .	3
2.	GENEVA. 1578—1596	8
3.	MONTPELLIER. 1596—1599	84
4.	PARIS. 1600—1610	149
5.	LONDON. 1610—1614	294
6.	CASAUBON AND BARONIUS' CHURCH HISTORY . .	362
7.	LONDON, ELY, AND CAMBRIDGE. 1610—1614 . .	384
8.	OXFORD VISIT. 1613	397
9.	LONDON. 1610—1614, continued.	419
10.	LAST ILLNESS, DEATH, AND CHARACTERISTIC. 1614 .	463
11.	INDEX OF CASAUBON'S WORKS IN CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER	534

τὸν δ' οὔτ' ἄρ χειμὼν κρυόεις, οὐκ ὄμβρος ἀπείρων,
οὐ φλὸξ ἠελίοιο δαμάζεται, οὐ νόσος αἰνὴ,
οὐκ ἔροτις δήμου ἐναρεῖ μένος, ἀλλ' ὅγ' ἀτειρὴς
ἀμφὶ διδασκαλίῃ τέταται νύκτας τε καὶ ἦμαρ.

THE sources for the biography of Isaac Casaubon are unusually numerous and detailed. Indeed, no other personage, eminent in letters, of the sixteenth century, can be mentioned, for whose history there exist materials equally rich.

These sources are partly manuscript, partly printed.

1. MSS.

1. ADVERS.—Sixty volumes of Adversaria preserved in the Bodleian Library.
2. BURNEY MSS.—Seven volumes of letters addressed to Casaubon by his numerous correspondents; preserved in the Burney collection in the British Museum.
3. BIBL. NAT.—The National Library in Paris contains: (1) The series of letters from Casaubon to de Thou, some confidential portions of which were omitted purposely in Van Almeloveen's edition. (2) Two independent sets of notes, taken by hearers, of his lectures on Herodotus. (3) Other notes on the Anthology, etc.
4. GENEVA MSS.—The archives of the city of Geneva contain: (1) The register of births, deaths, and marriages. (2) The minute books of the Petit conseil. The city of Geneva has had the singular good fortune of never having been taken, sacked, or burnt. The series of order books of the Council is complete. For the period of Casaubon's residence these books form our principal authority. The entries relating to the Academy and its professors are not numerous, but they are significant, and enable us to form a tolerably accurate conception of Casaubon's position,

occupations, and share in the general misery of the citizens of Geneva. I take this opportunity of acknowledging my great obligations to M. Theophile Dufour, who not only guided my researches in this register, but most handsomely put into my hands the whole of the extracts from it, which he had himself made with a view to illustrate the history of Casaubon.

2. PRINTED DOCUMENTS.

EPH.=Ephemerides Isaaci Casauboni, ed. J. Russell, 2 vols. 8vo, Oxon. e Typographeo Academico, 1850.

Of this diary a full account will be given in the course of the narrative.

EP.=Isaaci Casauboni Epistolæ cur. Th. Janson ab Almeloveen, fol. Rot. 1709.

This volume contains 1110 letters written by Casaubon to his friends and correspondents, and 50 replies by them.

MER. CAS. PIETAS=Merici Casauboni . . . Pietas contra maledicos patrii nominis, 4to, Lond. 16, also reprinted in the volume of Epistolæ 1709.

BURM. SYLL.=Sylloge Epistolarum a viris illustribus scriptarum, etc., 5 vols. 4to, Leid. 1727.

Single letters of Casaubon are to be found scattered about in various published volumes of correspondence. The valuable series of Scaliger's letters to Casaubon is printed in

SCAL. EP.=Scaligeri Epistolæ, 8vo, Lugd. Bat., 1627.

BULL. SOC. DE L'HIST. PROT.=Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire Protestante de la France, 17 vols. 8vo.

MEM. SOC. GEN.=Mémoires et Documens publiés par la Société d'Histoire et Archéologie de Genève, 18 vols. 8vo.

Both these series contain original documents which are of use in completing our knowledge of the affairs of the Protestants in the latter end of the 16th century.

GRÉNUS=Fragmens biographiques et historiques extraits des Registres du Conseil d'Etat de la République de Genève dès 1535 à 1792, Gen. 1815.

Other references will probably be sufficiently full to explain themselves.

1.

PARENTAGE AND EDUCATION.

1559—1578.

ISAAC CASAUBON was born at Geneva, February 18, (8 o. s.), 1559, being thus younger than Joseph Scaliger by eighteen years.

He was the son of Arnold Casaubon and Jehanne Mergine (*née*) Rousseau[1]. They were emigrants who had to fly for their lives from Gascony[2], where Arnold

[1] Geneva MSS. Reg. de baptêsmes: 'Ce 10 febvrier fut baptisé Isaac fils de Arnaud Casaubon et de Mergine sa femme presenté par Francois Masères (Eglise de St. Gervais).' But the certificate of this entry in Advers. 9. 415 has Meugine, and the entry of the baptism of Sara, December 8, 1556, gives Mingine. It would seem that there was, at the time, a difficulty in catching the exact sound of this very unusual name. Meric, however, on the first page of the Ephemerides, has written it Mergine, which Dr. Russell transformed into 'meusnie.'

[2] Ep. 453: 'Je nasquis l'an 1559, 8 Fevrier dans Genève, où mes bons père et mère s'étoient retirez *de Gascongne*, ayant failli d'estre bruslez à Bourdeaux.' Cf. ep. 879: 'ex Aquitania.' Notwithstanding these explicit passages, M. Nisard (Triumvirat Litt. p. 310), and the biographical compilations generally, make Arnold Casaubon fly from Bourdeaux in Dauphiné. The source of the error is the Latin life by the usually accurate Van Almeloveen, prefixed to his Epistolæ 1709. Isaac's own statement, sufficiently explicit, is confirmed by the 'Registre d'habitation,' Geneva MSS., in which Arnold's name stands as 'Arnaud Casaubon de Montfort, diocese Dax en Gascogne.' The entry is dated 11 janv. 1557. Montfort is conjectured by M. Th. Dufour, to whom I owe this extract, (L'Intermédiaire, 3. 76), to be Montfort-en-Chalosse, chef-lieu de canton, dep. Landes.

had a narrow escape from being burnt alive. The persecuting edict of Chateaubriand (1551) was outstripped by the fanaticism of the religious mob, who called for a constant supply of new victims. The Huguenots were flying in every direction, and Arnold Casaubon had found shelter at Geneva. He had reached this city of refuge before December 1556, when his first child was baptized.

The family of Casaubon was of old Gascon stock; in some of its branches noble[3]. The name is probably to be traced to the town of Cazaubon, on the Douze (dep. Gers), a few miles from Mont de Marsan. Arnold Casaubon was received as 'habitant' of Geneva, January 11, 1557, and at some later period he must have been admitted 'bourgeois,' as his son Isaac is afterwards described as 'citoien.' In the old Genevese constitution the sons and descendants of one who had been admitted 'bourgeois' were entitled to full civic rights. Arnold did not stay long at Geneva. A Protestant congregation was organising itself at Crêst, a small town on the Drôme (dep. Drôme), a few leagues above the confluence of that river with the Rhone. As Mad[e]. Casaubon was from that part of Dauphiné, her husband was probably known to the reformed party in the neighbourhood. He accepted a call to be pastor of the church of Crêst, in 1561. The childhood of Isaac was passed in the valleys of Dauphiné, amid the hardships and perils incident to the life of a Huguenot minister during the wars of religion. His father was his only instructor till he was nineteen. Arnold had scholarship, and some reading. He had been brought up in a celebrated school, the College

[3] Bertrand de Vignolles Sieur de Casaubon Marquis de Vignolles, b. 1565, wrote: Mémoires des choses passées en Guienne.

of Guienne, at Bourdeaux. He must have been there in 1547, at which time Muretus, with a brilliant staff of colleagues, was teacher there. The man who could recommend Strabo as instructive reading to his son[4], must have known more than the rudiments of greek. But the father's time was engrossed by his flock. His talent and experience drew upon him much of the affairs of the scattered congregations of Dauphiné in those critical years. He was able to be but little at home. And, even when he was with his family, it might be but to fly with them to the hills. When Isaac was nine years old, he was able to speak and write latin. Just then, his father was called away to attend the contingent, which Dauphiné had to furnish to the general levy of the Huguenots. The monstrous edict of Saint-Maur, September 28, 1563, in which the government unblushingly declared that former edicts of toleration had been intended to be revoked as soon as it was safe to do so, had shown the Protestants of France that they had to choose between civil war and extermination, and they were once more under arms. Casaubon, the father, was absent this time three years. When he returned to Crêst, Isaac was found to have forgotten all he had learnt. If what Meric Casaubon relates of his father's precocity be true, perhaps it was as well that lessons were suspended for the three years from nine to twelve. For when the lessons were resumed, Meric relates[5], the boy 'threw himself into study with such ardour, that if he had not been checked by his father, his health, if not his life, would have been endangered.' He had got as far as greek grammar, and was having his first exercises in parsing,

[4] Strabo, 1586, præf.: 'Optimi parentis hortatu.'

[5] Pietas, p. 72.

in Isocrates 'ad Demonicum,' when the news of the S. Bartholomew (August, 1572) drove them into the hills again. The greek lessons were continued in the cave where they sheltered; 'in silvis miseri, ingenti tamen animo,' says Meric.

When they could return to their home again, Arnold Casaubon was too much engrossed by the urgent affairs of that dreadful crisis to have time for teaching his son. Isaac, however, was launched, and struggled on for himself. For five years, from his 14th to his 19th year, he had no teacher, and but few books. As an example of piety and severe life, he owed much to his father, whose memory he ever cherished with affection[6]. Writing to a friend in 1613, twenty-seven years after his father's death, he says:—'To my father I owe all I have since learnt. Could you know the story of his life, you would know how unworthy I am to bear the name of a man so wise and experienced.' But the want of regular training Isaac always considered to have been a disadvantage to him. In 1605 he writes to Vertunien[7]; 'As to what Mr. Scaliger has said to you of my age and of my learning, I must be fain to confess that, on the first point, he is not far wrong. Having been born in 1559, I am now (1605) on the verge of being an old man, if not one already. But as to the second head, I am sorry to say that I cannot appropriate the thousandth part of what he has been pleased to say of me. I was taught by my father, a man of great capacity, but wholly absorbed in the

[6] Ep. 908: 'Ingratus sim erga Deum, nisi illi gratias agam, eo patre esse me natum, cujus vita speculum est omnium virtutum. Illi ego debeo quicquid in literis didici.'

[7] Ep. 453.

affairs of the church; sometimes absent from his family for whole years together; nearly every year turned out of his house, to find it sacked on his return. So that I cannot say that I began my studies till I was twenty, when I was sent by him to Geneva[8]. I am a self-taught man; ὀψιμαθὴς and αὐτοδίδακτος. Instead of the learning which Mons. de l'Escale's goodness credits me with, I can only console myself that I lost the best part of my early years in persecution for the truth, a memory, which is sweeter to me than honey or sugar.'

At the age of nineteen he was sent by his father to Geneva (1578), where he remained, first as a student, and afterwards as professor, for the next eighteen years.

[8] Ep. 453: 'Je puis dire avoir commencé mes études lors que agé de vingt ans je fus par lui envoyé à Genève.'

2.

GENEVA.

1578—1596.

THE name of Casaubon is not to be found in the matriculation book, or 'Livre du Recteur,' which is still extant in the archives of Geneva. The register is perfect, but the entry of names appears to have been neglected for the two years 1577, 8. Of his student's years no account is preserved. It appears probable that he was intended to become a minister, and that the destination of his after life was due to accident. He had the advantage of learning greek under a fairly competent scholar, Franciscus Portus, a native Greek (he was of Crete), who had taught greek at Geneva ever since 1562. Casaubon had hardly completed his third academical year, when Portus died (æt. 71), having suggested Casaubon as qualified to succeed to his place. Portus was not only an accomplished scholar, but a man who had seen much of the world, and of the cultivated society of the time. Leaving his native country as a child, he had lived so long in Italy—at Venice, at Modena, and Ferrara—that Italian had become his mother tongue. He had forgotten Romaic, according to the testimony of Scaliger[1], and his letter in reply to Crusius is written in classical greek[2]. His discerning eye picked out the young Casaubon

[1] Scaligerana 2ª. p. 193.

[2] Crusius, Turcogræcia, p. 517.

as the one of all his pupils competent to succeed him. Franciscus Portus deserves commemoration in the history of learning, if for no other reason, for this, that he turned Isaac Casaubon to the study of Greek. Though Casaubon was not his only eminent pupil. Portus had taught Sigonius, and Sigonius, then æt. 22, had succeeded Portus as teacher of Greek at Modena, in 1546.

The council took a year to make the appointment, and then, on the unanimous recommendation of the Venerable Company and the Professors, received Casaubon as Professor of Greek.

The entry in the register runs thus[3]:—

'M. Isaac, fils de Arnaud Casabon, citoien de Genève, a esté présenté par M. de La Faie, recteur, pour estre professeur de la langue grecque, suyvant l'advis de tous les ministres et professeurs. A esté arresté quon le reçoyve, et suyvant ce a presté serment.'

The title 'Professor of Greek' has an imposing sound. But on closer inspection the reality is very simple, and more than humble. There is no room to infer with the biographers an unnatural precocity in Casaubon. When the age of the wandering native Greek teachers was past—Franciscus Portus was one of the last of them,—men who knew Greek at all were scarce, and men who knew it profoundly were not to be found. Young men fresh from the schools had at least not forgotten the rudiments. So Xylander (Holtzmann) became 'Professor' of Greek at Heidelberg, æt. 26, and Daniel Heinsius lectured on it at Leyden, æt. 18. The Academy of Geneva was far enough from ranking with the University of Heidelberg, and still less with that of Leyden.

[3] Geneva MSS. Registre du petit conseil, fo. 109, 5 juin, 1582.

Modern historians of Geneva, having before them what Geneva became in the eighteenth century, may be forgiven for having transported this picture to an earlier period. Had Calvin conceived the idea, which is attributed to him, of a school of general education, neither time nor place would have permitted its realisation. The Geneva of Voltaire and Rousseau, the cosmopolitan centre, its independence guaranteed by the strength of the Swiss cantons at its back, and the mutual jealousy of the great powers, was in a very different position from the Geneva of Calvin. The merit of Calvin consists not in largeness of mind, but in the judgment which perceived exactly what was wanted. It is in vain that Calvin's panegyrists persist in attributing to him views, which he could not have had, without ceasing to be the man he was—the man of his age and place. Haag would represent[4] him as designing 'un grand établissement d'instruction publique dont l'enseignement devait embrasser l'ensemble de toutes les connoissances humaines.' Fine phrase disguising the bare fact! Calvin planned for Geneva that which the reformed church of the French tongue wanted in 1559. An elementary school, and a seminary for ministers—this was what was wanted, and this was what Calvin supplied. A grand Academy of letters or science, such as the historians find in his scheme, was as little in Calvin's thoughts as the steamboats which now ply on the lake Leman. In this, as in all his undertakings, Calvin projected what was required, and what could be effected, with a distinctness of purpose and practical sense, which made him what he was, the head of his party in a struggle for life against fearful odds.

[4] La France Protestante, art. Calvin.

Each of the Cantons, on embracing the reform, had found the necessity of some institution for the training of its own ministers. Bâle had already, three generations old, a university with papal privileges (founded 1460). Zürich, Berne, and Lausanne, erected their own academies. Geneva required its own, not less. The preamble to the statutes of the academy of Geneva (1559), drawn doubtless by Calvin's hand, does not go beyond this intention. 'Verily hath God heretofore endowed our commonwealth with many and notable adornments, yet hath it, to this day, had to seek abroad, for instruction in good arts and disciplines for its youth, with many lets and hindrances[5].' Note, in the whole composition, the tone of measured solidity, which says less than it means to perform. This self-contained power, this suppressed moral force, which is characteristic, not of Calvin alone, but of the whole of the French reform, stands in noble contrast to the vain-glorious style which Europe now is apt to ascribe to France as catholicised by Louis XIV. Perhaps at the time that Calvin gave utterance to this simple proposal, he foresaw that his new school might have a higher destiny. A seminary of ministers for Geneva and Dauphiné, that was the first thing. That it might become the seminary for the whole of the French reform, nay beyond the French tongue, that the Genevan academy would be the heart of the whole presbyterian system throughout Europe, this hope may have presented itself to Calvin's imagination. He was not blind to the peculiar advantages, political, geographical, ethnical, of Geneva. Ten years before, in 1549, he had written to Bullinger, 'when I consider what aptitude this little corner has for promoting

[5] Promulgatio legum Academiæ Genevensis; Fick's reprint, 1859.

Christ's kingdom, I am naturally solicitous to keep my hold of it[6].' But the idea of a metropolitan university, a nursery of the arts and sciences, had no place in the mind of Calvin, nor even in that of the more cultivated Beza. The first object was to train pastors, and the education given bore, in all its parts, the stamp of the ecclesiastical seminary.

The Academy (so-called) at Geneva was the latest, and not the least valuable of Calvin's institutions *. It was not till after the final humiliation of the republican party (1555), and the satisfactory understanding with Berne (1558) that he was able to organise it. A town school, indeed, there had been ever since the beginning of the independence of Geneva (1536). But it had only given the rudiments of learning. A Genevan youth, who wished to complete his education, was obliged to go abroad to do so[7].

The new institution was composed of two schools. One for boys, a gymnasium, college, or grammar-school, consisting, according to the universally received division, of seven classes. In the sixth and seventh class the rudiments were taught. From the fifth class upwards, the instruction was in the classics. The other part of the institution was one for higher education, and was intended to carry on those pupils, who had passed through the school. But it was not confined to them, it was open to any who chose to enter their names as students. In the latin statutes, this part of the

[6] Ep. ad Bullinger. * See note A in Appendix.

[7] Leges Academiæ, 1559: 'Quum ad eum usque diem coacta fuisset civitas Genevensis, maximis cum incommodis ac difficultatibus, ab iis urbibus et gentibus petere suæ juventuti bonarum artium ac disciplinarum cognitionem, quibus ipsa . . . synceræ religionis scientiam de suo quodammodo largiebatur.'

institution was called the Schola Publica, and the lower part, or college, is styled the Schola Privata. When the term 'academy of Geneva' is used, the upper, or schola publica of professors and students is usually intended, though 'academy' is sometimes loosely said of the whole institution taken together. The academy consisted at first of three chairs, Hebrew, Greek, and Arts. The department of Theology, which was the capital consideration, was taught by Calvin (afterwards by Beza) as pastor, without the title of professor. After a time, chairs in Law and Medicine were added. Both schools, the upper and the lower, were under the control of a rector chosen every two years, but re-eligible. How entirely the education of Geneva was in the hands of the clergy may be judged from the fact that rector, professors, head-master, and all the masters in the lower school were appointed by the Venerable company of pastors, and only confirmed by the Council.

In entering their names in the 'rector's book' the students of the academy *subscribed* the statutes, but also a lengthened confession of calvinistic orthodoxy. Considering the rigidity of everything else, it may seem surprising that as early as 1576, in less than twenty years from its establishment, this subscription had to be abolished. Still more surprising is the tolerant motive recorded in the register, that 'lutherans and papists may be no longer hindered from coming to study here; and that, further, it does not seem right to press a young conscience which is unresolved to sign what it doth not as yet understand; and further that they of Saxony have taken occasion herefrom to compel those who go from hence to them to sign the confession of Augsburg[8].'

[8] Registre du conseil, ap. Gabarel, 2. 122.

Charles Perrot, one of the pastors, was put forward as the mover of this liberal step. But there can be no doubt that it had the approbation of Beza, without which nothing was done, at that period. But for 200 years no further step was taken in that direction. Though subscription was abolished for students, yet down to 1796, no dissident, not even a lutheran, could be a teacher in the academy, or even a citizen of Geneva. Beza, and the sixteenth century, were, if not more tolerant, more enlightened than the seventeenth century. It was policy, not indifference to dogma.

The policy of the State of Geneva, its open-armed hospitality, was extended to its school and university. Originally designed for natives, the academy of Geneva became very early a great resort of foreign students. They flocked in from all parts of protestant Europe, even from lutheran countries. That the discipline maintained was rigorous, and that it had a strictly church character—both these facts contributed to accredit the school, throughout the reformed countries. In the school the hour of opening was six in summer, seven in winter. The boys brought their breakfast with them, and ate it on the benches of the schoolroom. They might not bring anything but the simplest food, the same for rich and poor. The classrooms were open to all the rigours of the seasons. In November 1564, a master having petitioned that the windows might be glazed, the council took it into its consideration. The decision arrived at was, that 'the children might, if they liked, paste paper over the openings next their seats[9].' There was a charcoal brazier in each classroom in the very cold weather, at which, when the fingers

[9] Goethe, Italiän. Reise, Werke, 19. 23, found, in 1787, papered windows at Torbole.

refused their office, they might be thawed for a few seconds. All the pupils had to attend in their place at church, the Wednesday morning sermon, on Sunday three times, morning and afternoon sermon and catechism. Absence without a valid excuse was followed by punishment.

The students of the 'public school' or academy being in great part strangers, gave more trouble—especially the Germans. Accustomed to the licence of the universities of the fatherland, they thought to carry the privileges of the Bursch with them. They were soon undeceived. Certain families, 'vivans selon Dieu,' were selected, and the scholars not allowed to lodge elsewhere. The severity of its discipline recommended Geneva as much as the theological celebrity of Calvin. Pious parents throughout Europe gladly accepted the risks of the distance, and the dangerous neighbourhood, to bring their sons under the shadow of such a training.

On the numbers of the students the statements in the histories are vague, and marked with the tendency to amplify. The figure of 1000 in which the modern writers, Henry, Gaberel, Stähelin, seem so unanimous, is not traceable beyond an anonymous letter quoted by Sayous[10], 'C'est merveille des auditeurs des leçons de M. Calvin j'estime qu'ils sont journellement plus de mille.' Even if this unauthenticated statement be accepted, it must be understood of the whole affluence to Calvin's lectures, which were doubtless open to the public. We know from the documentary evidence of the 'Leges academiæ,' that on the day of opening there were present '600 scholars.' But this includes the boys in the lower school with its seven classes,

[10] Etudes littéraires, p. 107.

comprising doubtless the whole of those between seven and fifteen, who were of a rank to receive grammar-school education. But there remains the undeniable evidence of the matriculation book or 'livre du recteur.' From this we find that, throwing out the exceptional years of the plague, the Saint-Bartholomew, and the worst years of the religious war, the average of entries was about forty per annum. Tholuck has proved that for the universities of Germany, at this period, we may assume four years as the average duration of a student's residence. If this average were applicable to Geneva, we should have 160 as the total number of students—the 'Frequenz,' as the Germans call it. But for various reasons it is probable that the average stay of a student at Geneva did not reach four years. We shall be nearer the mark, if we assume the number of students, residing in any one year, at from 100 to 120. In the exceptional years above named, the actual numbers were much below this average. In 1572 (Saint-Bartholomew) there were only three matriculations. On the other hand, in 1597 (Edict of Nantes) they amounted to 120. When this is clear to us, we understand how it was possible to get on with so few professors. There were at first but three literary professors; two more were added afterwards. There were besides the two theological professors; but their lectures were, in fact, doctrinal sermons, pastoral rather than professional. Calvin never would take the title of professor. These lecture-sermons, though doctrinal, were in the form of exegesis; they were commentaries on books of the bible. Scientific 'Dogmatik' was an invention of the 17th century.

The day opened with a service or sermon at 5 A.M.

in summer, 6 A.M. in winter. This, not for the students, but for the congregation. This lasted an hour. Immediately after the sermon followed the lecture of the hebrew professor. This lecture was also exegetical. He was followed by the professor of greek, who explained an author, of philosophy or ethics, Aristotle, Plato, Plutarch, or some christian writer. Ten was the dinner hour. After dinner the greek professor had a second hour, when he read some greek poet, orator, or historian. Latin authors were considered to belong to the province of the professor of arts. But only on three days of the week did the greek professor lecture twice. On Wednesday and Friday he had no morning lectures; on Saturday none at all. But on Friday every professor had to attend the weekly consistory, or conference of ministers. The Sunday was spent in hearing the sermons. The actual lecturing of the greek professor was thus only eight hours per week.

But then his lectures were not mere grammar, or construing lessons to learners. Greek was learnt in the school. The boy began greek in the fourth class, i.e. at ten or eleven years old. By the time he quitted the first class he had read through some of the principal authors. The greek professor, therefore, was not doomed, like the Scottish professor, to teach the elements. He had before him an advanced class, in whom he might assume a knowledge, not of the language only, but of the ordinary school cycle of greek history and antiquities. We shall give some account below of the subjects which Casaubon taught at Geneva.

High work did not mean high pay. 'The salaries of the professors,' writes Calvin, 'are not at the

magnificent rate usual in Germany, but are on a par with those of the pastors, barely sufficient for support[11].' They were fixed at 280 genevese florins. Something could be added to this scanty pay by boarding students, as the professors usually did. Ninety florins were considered sufficient allowance for board and lodging, out of which there could be little profit, even though, as we are told in the life of S. Francis de Sales, 'Savoy is the country in all the world where one can live the cheapest[12].' 'A Professor of Law or Medicine it was necessary, then as now, to pay more highly; and we read of their having 600, 700, and even 800 genevese florins. With 800 florins, Hotoman, in 1577, found it impossible to live, but then he had a family of nine children.

It is true, that this period, and the 17th century also, echo with the complaints of the poverty of professors. But, in Geneva, this economy was not niggardliness, it was bare poverty. Indeed, in the circumstances of the republic, it is more surprising that the schools should have continued to exist at all, than that the teachers should have shared in a misery which was common to all. The struggle of Geneva against the Dukes of Savoy was not that of an affluent bourgeoisie ambitious of political independence; it was a struggle for existence. Geneva was not only a burgher aristocracy, hateful in the eyes of sovereign princes[13], but an outpost of Protestantism,

[11] Epp. ap. Henry, Leben Calvin's, 3. 390.

[12] Marsollier, Vie de S. François, 1. 433.

[13] Zurich Letters, 2nd ser. p. 275: 'As for Geneva, they not only hate, but execrate it.' Cf. the representations of S. Francis de Sales to the Duke of Savoy, ap. Marsollier, 1. 246: 'Que les calvinistes étoient naturellement républicains, et ennemis de l'état monarchique,' etc.

encamped as it were within the very territory of Savoy. Charles Emmanuel had sworn that 'he would have Geneva if it cost him a million.' Twice in one year (1584) well concerted plots, favoured by traitors within, were detected when ripe for execution. Nor was it only liberty, political and religious, which was at stake. The savage cruelty, which was thought praiseworthy in catholic soldiers dealing with Calvinists, told the Genevese what to expect if the mercenaries once got within the walls[14]. In 1589 the Duke of Savoy brought up an army of 18000 regular troops, with the determination to destroy the nest of heretics once for all. The little republic, deserted at the critical moment by Berne, and hated by the lutheran princes of Germany, as much as by fanatically catholic France, could only muster 2186 men capable of bearing arms. History has not a more gallant struggle against odds to record. Before it was released by the peace of Vervins (1598), Geneva had lost 1500 men out of its total levy of 2186. The importance of destroying the city was fully understood by the catholic party. It was especially urged by S. Francis de Sales in a memorial presented to the Duke of Savoy. The schools and the printing-presses are particularly pointed out, by the catholic saint, as the instruments of mischief[15].

[14] A bishop of Geneva writes in 1534; Jussie, Levain du Calvinisme, p. 84: 'Que là, où on trouverait des Luthériens on les pouvoit prendre, tuer, ou pendre à un arbre, sans nulle difficulté ou doute.'

[15] Aug. Sales, Vita S. Francisci de Sales. p. 99: 'Quid dicam de prelis quæ habent amplissima et munitissima, unde in omnem terram pestiferos libros spargunt . . . accedunt ad hæc scholæ ad quas plerique nobili sanguine orti juvenes advolant a Francia.'

The protestants were equally aware that the printing-press had been a great engine of the success of the reformation in the towns where

The misery suffered within the walls during this siege, or ἐπιτείχισις, was frightful. The population of Geneva before the troubles in France is estimated at 12000[16]. During the troubles hundreds of French families immigrated; the foreigners almost outnumbered the native townsmen[17]. In 1558, 279 foreigners were admitted citizens in one day. Yet in 1589 the population was only 13000[18]. Such had been the ravages of famine, pestilence, misery, and war. Poverty and overcrowding made the plague more than ordinarily deadly in Geneva. In 1615, more than 4000 died of it—a fourth of the population. The refugees, happy to have escaped with their lives, brought little capital with them. The town had no trade, could have none, with an enemy permanently encamped just outside the walls[19]. It was at the hazard of life that travellers arrived or left the city. Its fair had been long before transferred to Lyons. The only industry was printing, mostly little remunerative, as the example of Henri Estienne shows. 'This commonwealth and church,' says Beza[20],

it was free. Grynæus, Epp. p. 26: 'Tum solide doctorum virorum voce viva et scriptis editis; . . . tum officinarum typographicarum, quæ maximo illis adjumento fuerunt.'

[16] Bonivard, Chronique, 2. 385.

[17] Ed. Mallet, Mém. et Documens de la Société de l'Hist. de Genève, 8. 453.

[18] Registre du conseil, ap. Grénus, p. 68.

[19] The system of the Duke of Savoy was to erect two forts, Santa Catarina and 'Mommeliana,' a short distance from the city, on his own territory, the garrison of which commanded the roads on the side of Savoy and Franche Comté. These were not destroyed till the campaign of 1600. Burney MSS. 365. 59, Lect. to Casaubon, 13 Nov. 1600: 'Extat etiamnum, quod mirere, Catharina . . . tamen, dedito superioribus diebus Mommeliano, finem malorum speramus ab exempto.' Cf. Thuanus, Hist. 125. 13.

[20] Vita Calvini.

'may be truly called a nursery of poverty'—paupertatis officina. One resource it had in the sympathy of foreign churches, kindled by returned students, who carried back reports of privation heroically endured. The registers of the council, and the correspondence of the period, are full of acknowledgments of such aid. England, and English bishops, were not among the most backward. Cox, Sandys, Grindal, never send a letter to Zurich without enclosing a remembrance[21]. The bishop of Ely sends Gualter five crowns. The bishop of London sends Bullinger enough cloth to make a gown. This was to Zurich. But in 1583 the bishops procured a royal brief for a collection through the churches of England in aid of Geneva. It produced £5039. Two public quêtes made in Holland raised considerable sums, though the United provinces were then engaged in their death struggle with Philip II. The maintenance of the schools at Geneva was a special object of these subsidies. Many of the reformed churches, too, maintained students at Geneva. So Arminius was sent there at the charge of the city of Amsterdam, and Utenbogaert at the charge of Utrecht. Till the rise in credit of Leyden (founded 1575), Holland, excluded from Louvain, was compelled to seek education for its youth in foreign countries. But Heidelberg, or Herborn in Nassau, being more conveniently situated than Geneva, received most of the Dutch students[22].

In June, 1582, Casaubon had received his appointment. To one whose boyhood had been a school of hardship, a fixed stipend of £10 a year and rooms in

[21] Zurich Letters (publication of Parker Society), passim.

[22] Schotel, Studenten Oproer in 1594.

the college, may have seemed provision for a family. Under Calvin's rigid police early marriage was the rule; and the strength of numbers must have been an object with any government of Geneva. Besides there was the consideration of boarders. Accordingly, in September, 1583, Casaubon married. His wife, Mary, though, like himself, a native of Geneva, was, like himself, the child of refugee parents. Her family was from Bourdeaux in Dauphiné. The union was of short duration*. She died in April, 1585, leaving one child, a daughter.

Meanwhile, distress inside the walls and terror without, were slowly enveloping the little republic and threatening it with extinction. The protestant cause was lost in France, and it was now a question not of liberty of conscience, but of life. Every one who had anywhere else to go made their escape from the doomed city. Bonaventure Bertram, professor of hebrew, escaped to Frankenthal, Hotoman to Bâle. Hotoman writes to Heidelberg: 'In the whole of France there is no good man who is not suffering severely. In our Savoy a large part of the population has actually perished of famine, and now pestilence is attacking those that have survived[24].' The assassination of the Prince of Orange, the repeated attempts on the life of Elizabeth, and on that of the King of Navarre, the growing fury of the League, the armament of Philip II. against England, the savage massacres which broke out from time to time in the French towns, intimated that the policy of S. Bartholomew, the extinction of protestantism by the extermination of the protestants, was the aim of

* See note B in Appendix.

[24] Hotom. Epp. ep. 147.

the triumphant party. The desperate position of Geneva was such that foreign students ceased to come at all, and the greek class, as was natural, was the first to drop. In November, 1585, we find[25] that Casaubon was left with hardly any auditors. The council amalgamated the professorship of greek with that of history, and appointed Casaubon to the double charge. But in 1586 things were worse, and it was resolved to give up the academy. The council, with many expressions of regret, intimated to the professors—the two theological professors excepted—that their functions must cease[26]. In this juncture the Ven. company of pastors came forward (October 7) and petitioned the council that such a public calamity as the suppression of the academy might be averted, and that their own salaries might be applied to the payment of the professors. The petition was refused. But at the next weekly meeting of the council the Ven. company return to the charge (October 14). They offer to raise among themselves 1000 crowns, and lend it to the treasury, of course without interest, for the relief of the present necessity. 'As for closing the college,' says their memorial, 'our academy is now regarded as the seminary of the churches of France; the school of La Rochelle being the only one now left in that kingdom. The reputation of our school is so widely spread that even England

[25] Geneva MSS. Registre du pet. cons. f°. 160. 22 nov. 1585: 'D'aultant que M. Casaubon n'a presque point d'auditeur.'

[26] Geneva MSS. Registre du pet. cons. f°. 226, 7 octob. 1586: 'Suyvant ce qui a esté cy devant parlé de les casser à cause des charges que la ville supporte qui sont grandes, a esté arresté qu'en ceste considération, et d'aultant qu'ils n'ont à présent des auditeurs, qu'on les congédie, et qu'on retienne leur mandement de ce quartier.'

sends us students. The honour of your lordships is involved in the maintenance of this precious establishment. The classical languages and philosophy are indispensable for theology. Now, more than ever, ought we to cherish the study of the sciences, when the Jesuits have founded such a quantity of schools both in Switzerland and Savoy. It is said that the number of students in our academy is become insignificant. This is not so, seeing that at the last "promotions" twenty-three passed from the lower school to the public lectures. And as for the attendance at these lectures, no one can say that Mr. Casaubon wants for auditors[27]. If the Council persists in its resolution, our city will suffer in character; and the foreign students once diverted from us will not find their way back when better times come.'

Men, who were prepared to make such sacrifices, were not altogether unworthy to exercise even the despotic power which these ministers wielded. The council, did not, for the present, think proper to grant this request, and the lectures were suspended[28]. We do not exactly know how long the suspension of the schools continued. But, as Casaubon made a journey to Frankfort in 1590, without applying for leave of absence, it may be conjectured that he did not resume before that year. These two or three years, 1568-88, were the darkest period. In 1587 the plague was at its worst. It made havoc in the unventilated dwellings

[27] The lectures on Persius were delivered 'magna frequentia,' Burmann, Syll. 1. ep. 362; 'frequenti auditorio.' Schultze, epp. inedd. p. 14.

[28] Tholuck, Gesch. d. Rat. quotes a private letter of a law student in 1586, which says, 'all the professors here have resigned for want of hearers.'

and close streets, in which were crowded a half-famished population. The splendid quay, on which now rise the magnificent hotels and warehouses, was then an unwholesome marsh. The marauding parties of the mercenary troops of Savoy made escape into the fresh air of the mountains impossible. Duty on the walls was incessant, day and night. 'The exhaustion of the public treasury,' writes Casaubon,[29] 'is complete. Our burghers are entirely impoverished. The city is filled with paupers and beggars. A large part of the population is on the verge of starvation.'

We catch one authentic glimpse which shows the growing esteem which he had conquered, even in this time of general suffering. It is the more weighty as it is embodied in the official proceedings of the council. In August, 1591, the ministers return to the charge[30]. The academy appears, at this date, to be in exercise again, but to be poorly supported. The ministers apply on behalf of the professors. Beza and Perrot were deputed to wait on 'my Lords,' and to represent to them[31]:—

[29] Ep. 969 (to Stuck): 'Ingens pauperum et mendicorum turba, vere dico tibi, plerique nostrum ægre se et suos defendunt ab illo λιμῷ . . .'

[30] Hotoman writes to Tossanus at Heidelberg to use his influence with Beza 'to restore as soon as possible the professors of Greek and of Philosophy, by whose suspension this State has incurred a heavy, perhaps incurable wound.' Hotomann. Epp. ep. 145.

[31] Geneva MSS. Reg. du pet. cons. 11 août, 1591, f°. 149: 'Il y a le sieur Casaubon, qui sera un très rare personage si Dieu luy fuit la grace de vivre, est très humble et paisible, mais la nécessité le presse . . . Il est recherché et pratiqué d'ailleurs, car il escript très bien. M^r. du Fresne l'a recherché pour l'avoir près de luy en Allemayne, et pour le gagner luy a envoyé 50ℓ, mais il a tout son cœur à ce public, mais qu'il puisse vivoter, prient de luy faire quelque présent de

'That this school is a treasure which God has blessed in such sort, that there have issued from it instruments of his glory. The ministers do not doubt that the council intend to maintain the school in being, but they would particularly recommend the case of M. Chevalier, who discharges very well his duties as professor, though it may be he has not many pupils. . . . There is further the sieur Casaubon, who will become a very rare personage, if God of his mercy grant him to live; he being very humble and peaceable; but he is in great necessity, notwithstanding that they, the ministers, have succoured him to the best of their ability. He is already sought for and courted by persons abroad, for his excellent writings; M. de Fresne has desired to attach him to himself in Germany, and has sent him fifty crowns with this object. Notwithstanding he has his whole heart in the service of this public; and that he may be able to support bare life, they pray the council to make him a present of money out of the unappropriated funds of the college, e.g. fifty crowns, adding thereto some wheat for the relief of his present wants.' Hereupon the council ordered that fifty crowns and six bolls of wheat be delivered to Casaubon. In the year following, 1592, he also receives, by order of the council, a present of red wine, along with the ministers[32]. It was an exceptional favour, as the other professors are not mentioned.

The republic came through the ordeal reduced to

l'argent . . .' The expression 'à ce public' is peculiar. An inhabitant of Geneva could not speak of his country. Geneva was a city of refuge filled with foreigners, whose 'patrie' was France.

[32] Geneva MSS. Reg. du pet. cons. 4 dec. 1592, f°. 235, v°. . . . 'Comprenant avec les dites ministres le Sr. Casaubon professeur en grec.'

the lowest ebb of fortune, but unbroken in spirit. Each pious bosom felt that no human arm, but that of Providence alone, had interposed to save the bulwark of the church. History, perhaps, has never crowded into two years a greater number of surprising events impossible to predict. The first gleam of hope came from the side of France. The signal victory of Coutras, October 20, 1587, where the 'jeunesse dorée' of the party of massacre went down before half their number of poor and despised Huguenots, gave immediate relief. Then the execution of Mary Stuart, the annihilation of the Armada, the assassination of the Guises, the union of the two Henrys against the catholic League, and finally, the accession of Henri IV, all these great events on the European theatre were felt at Geneva, relaxing the tension put upon its strength—a strain which, had it been continued, must have ended in breaking. In April, 1590, Casaubon can write, 'Our affairs are, by the mercy of almighty God, in not a little better condition than they were when I received your letter, about five months back.'

How Casaubon himself struggled through these dismal years we are left to conjecture. It must be remembered that we have, for this period, neither his diary nor his letters—by the aid of which we shall be able, in the later years of his life, to follow his fortunes with minuteness and accuracy. The principal events of his life during the years of distress are,—the course of his studies; his father's death; his second marriage.

His father, Arnold, was attacked with low fever on January 1, 1586. His physician pronounced the symptoms favourable, and foretold a speedy recovery. But the patient himself was convinced he should never rise from his sick bed. It proved so. On February 1

he died, not of age, he was only 63, but worn out with the sufferings and anxieties of the 25 years of persecution. His death took place at Die in Dauphiné, and his funeral was attended by all the notables of the town, and many nobles of the province, it so happening that a synod was being held at the time. '[33] I alone of his children,' writes Isaac Casaubon, 'had the misfortune to be absent.' Isaac received the intelligence while he was writing his notes on the beginning of the fifth book of Strabo. He confides his sorrow to his commentary, as to a companion and friend. The reader of Strabo to this day is called upon to sympathise with Casaubon in his bereavement, in the middle of a difficulty which he leaves unexplained for that cause[34]. It is not only filial affection lacerated by death, premature and unexpected. It is disgust with his own occupation at the moment, when brought into sudden contrast with the memory of a parent, whose every thought and every hour had been given to sacred things and the cause of God. 'There is a difficulty here'—in Strabo's account of the southern shore of the Italian peninsula—'which I leave to others who have more leisure for such work. I have neither time nor spirit for the discussion of such things. My mind, overwhelmed by the intelligence just received, has no more taste for these classical studies, and demands a different strain to soothe and heal it.' Years afterwards, when it became necessary for the Jesuit party

[33] Isaac's own account of his father Arnold's death is given in ep. 893 to Lingelsheim in 1613. He repeats it again, with fuller detail, in 'Exercitt. ad Baron.' 1614, reproduced in Prideaux, Castigatio, p. 224. The shorter accounts in Meric, Pietas, p. 74, and Abbott, Antilogia, ep. ad lect., are not independent testimony, being both communicated by Isaac. [34] Comm. in Strabon. p. 211.

to defame Casaubon, they put in circulation a story that his father had been hanged. Gross as was the fabrication, it wounded Casaubon's sensitive nature, and, at the distance of twenty-five years, harrowed up the pang with which he had first received the intelligence of his parent's death, himself, alone of his children, away from his bed side.

His father died on February 1; in April Casaubon married a second wife. Prudent it cannot have been in the middle of the public calamities, when even his poor £10 a year was precarious, to marry a girl of eighteen without fortune. But in times of distress men seek consolation, not welfare, and prudence is in abeyance. And there were many things to recommend the match. The lady had beauty, sense, worth, and her grandfather's gentleness of disposition. Above all, Florence Estienne was the daughter of the great printer, Henri Estienne (Henricus Stephanus II.) Casaubon was naturally attracted to the editor of the Thesaurus, and had probably fallen in love with Estienne's MSS. collections, before he began to pay his court to the daughter.

But there was a difficulty in the way, over and above the moody and fitful temper, which was growing upon Estienne with his failing fortunes. The special difficulty was a literary offence. In 1566 Henri Estienne brought out one of his most magnificent volumes, his 'Poetæ græci,' the cost of producing which must have been very heavy. But no sooner was it out, than Crespin put out a pocket volume of poets, containing the Bucolic and Gnomic poets, who had formed a part of Estienne's 'Corpus' (1569). Estienne replied by a pocket edition of the Idyllic poets (1579). Vignon, Crespin's successor, retorted

with a new edition of the book of 1569, on cheaper paper. He solicited, and obtained, in an evil hour, from Casaubon, a few pages of criticism to enliven and recommend his volume. The rival books are, in externals, precisely alike. And, as Estienne flourished on his title page 'Observationes Henrici Stephani in Theocritum,' Vignon has upon his 'Isaaci Hortiboni Theocriticarum lectionum libellus.' Henri Estienne, whose profits on his Greek books were, to say the least, doubtful, naturally resented the rivalry in his own domain, especially, if, as is almost always the case, to competition was added underselling. But this was not the worst. Estienne had, in each of his editions, given emendations of the text of Theocritus. To correct over the irascible veteran's head was indiscreet, and Casaubon felt it to be so. He tried to mitigate the storm by inscribing his 'Lectiones Theocriticæ' to Estienne himself, and apologising most humbly for their appearance at all. 'He had allowed Vignon to get a promise from him in an unguarded moment. He had tried to be off it afterwards, but Vignon held him to his pledge. It was difficult for him even to glean after Estienne's harvest. His poor production consisted merely of notes jotted down some time before, for his own use, and without any view to print.' 'Should you ever condescend to go through them, you will greatly oblige me if you will mark all you disapprove with a red pencil. Nothing will satisfy me, but what I find to be satisfactory to you.' In later years Casaubon learned to estimate better the value of Estienne's 'red pencil.' This abject sentence disappeared from the dedication when it was reprinted by Commelin in 1596.

Besides this offence, the youth of Florence, and the

poverty of Casaubon were grounds on which the father might justly disapprove the match. But he did not interfere to prevent it, perhaps because he was occupied with a suit on his own account. Immediately on the expiry of his year's widowhood, April 24, 1586, Casaubon and Florence Estienne were married, in S. Peter's, and on May 9, Henri Estienne espoused his third wife, Abigail Pouppart.

How tenderly Casaubon was attached to his wife is evident throughout his diary. Even the moments of impatience, consigned to the pages of that secret record, may be taken to prove affection and general harmony. He certainly complains bitterly on one occasion of her interrupting him*. But over and above Casaubon's constitutional fretfulness, we must make allowance for the irritability engendered by a life of hard reading against time. Casaubon thought every moment lost in which he was not acquiring knowledge. He resented intrusion as a cruel injury. To take up his time was to rob him of his only property. Casaubon's imagination was impressed in a painful degree with the truth of the dictum 'ars longa, vita brevis.' As though with a presentiment that the end would come to him early, he struggles, all through a life of harass, to have his time for himself. To his wife struggling also, in her way, with the cares of a large household and narrow means, he may naturally have seemed at times apathetic to her difficulties, and selfishly 'burying himself in his books.' This is the true interpretation of the exceptional allusions in the diary. Its general tone is that of true affection. When she is away from him he writes to her by every post, and sometimes cannot

* See note C in Appendix.

give his attention to his books owing to the pain he suffers at her absence. June 1599, 'dolor ex uxoris absentia studia mea impediverunt.' 'To-day I got two letters from my wife. When will the day come that I shall see her again?' Every illness of hers is recorded, and his time, of which he is avaricious, is devoted to waiting upon her. Except in being too prolific[35],—they had eighteen children,—she proved an excellent scholar's wife, according to the model which is still traditional in Germany. She did not enter into her husband's pursuits, but she encouraged and sustained his temper naturally given to despondency. She is his 'steady partner in all his vexations,' ep. 750. She relieves him of all domestic cares, so that as he complains to archbishop Spotswood, '[36]when she is absent from him, he finds himself lost and helpless.' She is sure to find, if it can be found, a valuable volume belonging to Lingelsheim 'because whatever she knows I have at heart, she has at heart.' In 1613 he writes, '[37]I know by experience what a great help in our studies is an agreeable and dearly-beloved wife.' There is something touchingly simple in Florence's entry in the Ephemerides, the solitary entry in her handwriting, February 23, 1601. Casaubon had gone out of Paris for the night, to attend the protestant worship, a journey not without risk from the fanatical and ferocious catholic mob of Paris. Made. Casaubon takes the volume and writes 'ce jour dit, M. Casaubon a esté absent, que Dieu garde, et moi, et les nostres avec lui.' Her economical talent comes out in the birthday

[35] Geneva MSS. Reg. du pet. cons. 17 oct. 1595, fo. 184: 'Sur la nécessité de sa famille qui *s'augmente annuellement*,' says the order in council, not without a touch of humour.

[36] Ep. 1047. [37] Ep. 853.

present she brought her husband in 1604—a purse of more than 100 gold crowns, the saving of her thrift out of their scanty income.

In other respects the connection with the Estienne family brought with it nothing but vexation. Henri's fortunes were brought to the lowest ebb, and that by his own neglect. Florence's dower, whatever it was that was promised, remained unpaid at her father's death. '[38] To hope to get my wife's dower paid by Estienne,' Casaubon writes in 1596, 'would be to hope for water from the rock.' Nor was it only loss of fortune that he had to suffer. He had the mortification of seeing one, who bore a name honoured through Christendom, and who had achieved so much for learning, losing daily the respect of others and his own, and lowering himself to become a sycophant and a beggar at the doors of bishops and princes. Estienne was a perfect dragon in the close keeping of his books and MSS. So far from marriage with his daughter opening to Casaubon the father-in-law's library, Casaubon was more rigidly excluded from it after than before his marriage. Though Estienne was absent on his wanderings for months—even years—at a time, Casaubon never saw the inside of the library, except on the one memorable occasion on which he and Florence summoned courage to break it open. Speaking of a new book of Camerarius, Casaubon writes to Bongars[39], 'Read it I have not; seen it I have; but it was in the hands of Henri Estienne, who would not so much as allow me to touch, much less read it, while he is every day using, or abusing, my books as if they were his own.' Richard Thomson applied to Casaubon to get him the loan of the MS.

[38] Ep. 1010. [39] Ep. 21.

of Sextus Empiricus. The greek text of Sextus was not yet printed in 1594, but Estienne had a Florence transcript, which he had bought in Italy in 1555. Casaubon is obliged to reply to Thomson: '[40] All that I have is yours. But the MS. of Empiricus belongs to (Henri Estienne). You know the man and his peculiarities. I have no influence with him whatever. He seems to have entered into a conspiracy for his own ruin. Indeed he is not here (Geneva) as your letter assumes. For the last nine months he has been on his wanderings about Germany, settling nowhere.' Casaubon had been allowed the use of this greek Sextus, and had quoted a long passage from it in the 'notes on Diogenes,' 1593, brandishing it in the reader's eyes as 'noster codex.' He is now driven to confess to Thomson, that he had gone too far. It was not only not his, but he could not even have the use of it.

It will surprise no proprietor of MSS. that Estienne should have been jealous of his treasures, and that he should have preferred to retain the power of producing the Editio princeps of Sextus Empiricus to himself. In our own day, Cardinal Mai wished to monopolise the whole of the greek MSS. in the Vatican. And Casaubon was specially dangerous, as being ready and able to correct and publish any greek he could lay his hands on. Sylburgius knew this, and would not trust his transcript of Scylax (then, 1594, unprinted) for an hour in his hands. And the same instinct was latent in Casaubon himself. At a later period when his own books and papers had become valuable, he leaves the strictest orders, on sailing for England, that '[41] no one in the world be allowed to touch or handle them.' And

[40] Ep. 12.

[41] Burney MSS. 367. p. 66: 'Personne du monde ne les manie ni touche.'

Casaubon exaggerates the facts when he says Estienne would lend him *no* books. Both in the Strabo and in the Athenæus he derived material assistance from collations which Henri Estienne had made in Italy. His expression about the Strabo seems indeed to intimate that it had been obtained with difficulty. '[42] Postquam codicem suum optime de literis meritus socer Henricus Stephanus nobis concessit.'

But the regard and respect which Casaubon entertained for the veteran, whose enthusiasm for greek learning had been his ruin, was proof against Estienne's jealousy, and, what he must have felt keenly, the old man's self-exposure of garrulous senility through his press. Casaubon contributed to his editions, deteriorating from year to year, to the Thucydides of 1588, the latin Dionysius of the same year, the Plinius of 1591, and to the Diogenes Laertius of 1593. He was jealously excluded from all share in the text and translation, or from any control of the contents of the volumes. What he gave was extorted from his good nature, that the title page of a badly edited book might be decorated by the name of Casaubon. Anger was lost in pity. Gruter sends Casaubon his Seneca, 1593, in which were some sharp reflections on Estienne. Casaubon, who knew how just they were, expostulates with Gruter. '[43] There was but one drawback to the pleasure I had in reading your book—you know what. I could not but feel pain at your strictures on one so nearly related to me. Believe me, my friend, when I say that if you only knew the man himself and his ways, that *even now* you could not help loving him.' All grievances were forgotten when the melancholy end

[42] Comm. in Strab. p. 161. [43] Ep. 979.

came in 1598. In lamenting the 'charissimum caput' in his diary, Casaubon was only thinking of the better days of Henri's youth, and hopes that he himself may imitate his father-in-law's unwearied industry in learning.

As his family increased, Casaubon began to feel the pressure of distress. His wife's portion was not to be had, and in the disturbed state of France it was impossible to realise his father's estate. Besides, the widow still lived, and had to be provided for. Casaubon was obliged to appeal to the council. The treasury of the republic was in no better plight than that of its citizens. But necessitous as they were they did not refuse to help Casaubon. October 28, 1594, a bonus of 300 florins (genevese) is voted '[44] au sieur Isaac Casaubon qui sert cette académie avec beaucoup d'honneur, qui est dans la nécessité, et qui se plaint de ne pouvoir vivre de ses gages.' This indulgence to Casaubon must be ascribed, not so much to personal esteem, but to the circumstance that his classical lectures were the mainstay of the academy. This we may infer not only from the general distress of the treasury, which must have precluded all sentimental largesses, but from the fact that, two years later, one of the law professors, Jacques Lect, was suppressed altogether. And Lect was a more considerable person in the city than Casaubon, and was, at the time that he was cashiered, member of the council. But he was not indispensable. For he was one of two law professors, and could, therefore, be regarded as a superfluity. Lect remonstrated, pleading that he had embarked his prospects in the career of law teacher, and had besides hurt his fortune by buying the large quantity of books which was neces-

[44] Registre du conseil, Grénus, p. 76.

sary. But his appeal was in vain. We may hazard the conjecture, though the historians are silent, that there was a jealousy between the two gowns, between church and law. At any rate we find that the faculty of law was introduced into the academy, by the council, in the teeth of a remonstrance from the pastors. In this remonstrance they allege, amongst other objections to the study of law, '[45] that those, who apply themselves to this faculty, are for the most part of dissolute habits, being young men of quality, whose humour would not admit of their being subject to the discipline of this church.' It may be that Lect was thus punished by the ministers' party for opposition in the council, where an able lawyer, '[46] gentil personage,' like Lect, might make himself troublesome.

We may certainly infer from the fact of an augmentation being granted to Casaubon, at a moment when the treasury was empty, that his means were confessedly straitened. At the same time, it is difficult to reconcile with his indigence his collection of books. The valuable library he left at his death in 1614 must have been, in great part, the acquisition of later years. Yet we know that before 1597 he was in possession of a fund of books, rich both as to number and selection. The handlist which he made when he shipped his books for Montpellier is preserved[47]. They made thirteen bales, and amount to 450 articles—not volumes. Many authors, such as S. Augustine, fill several volumes folio. Not a few MSS. are among them.

From Casaubon's commentaries we see that the style of his work demanded nothing less than a complete

[45] Reg. du conseil, Grénus, p. 46. [46] Scaligerana 2ª. p. 138.
[47] Adversaria, tom. 22.

collection of the classical remains. He wants to found his remarks, not on this or that passage, but on a complete induction. It seems easy for Bentley[48] to say, 'Astypalæa of Crete does not once occur in ancient authors.' But a lifetime is behind this negation. It is noticeable, how early in his career Casaubon had begun to transcend the sphere of printed greek. In the 'Notes on Diogenes,' æt. 25, we find that he had managed to beg, borrow, or buy many anecdota—Polyænus; Photius; a fragment of Theocritus; a Theodoret 'De servandis affectibus,' lent him by Pacius; Scholia on Euripides, given him by Galesius[49]. It must not be supposed that Casaubon could at this, or any time, buy ancient greek MSS. What he bought were transcripts made for sale. These were manufactured by Damarius. Damarius was one of the last of the calligraphs, a race who long survived the invention of printing. Damarius—'homo græcus,' says Casaubon, with a tinge of bitterness at the recollection of some of his bargains—had, it should seem, access to the library at Venice, and went about Europe to sell his copies. His transcripts are no 'livres de luxe,' like the productions of the pen of a Vergecio or a Rhosus—true works of art, made to adorn the collections of princes and cardinals *. Damarius' books are hasty transcripts, on poor paper, of any inedita he could get hold of in Bessarion's library. [50]Casaubon may naturally

[48] Diss. upon Phalaris, Works, 1. 368.

[49] Notæ in Diogenem, pp. 3, 14, 16, 79, 120.

* See Note D in Appendix.

[50] S. Hieronym. præf. in Job: 'Habeant qui volunt veteres libros, vel in membranis purpureis auro argentoque descriptos, vel uncialibus, ut vulgo aiunt, litteris, onera magis exarata quam codices, dummodo mihi meisque permittant pauperes habere schedulas, et non tam

have preferred, with S. Jerome, correct books to ornamental books, but this he did not get from Damarius. The transcripts of Damarius do not make up for their want of external beauty by accuracy of text; for the transcriber does not seem to have known even the grammar of classical greek. For these wretched copies he was able to extract sums really vast. For the Polyænus Casaubon had given a great sum—'magno ære.' A Julius Africanus was sold to him, by the same vendor, for 300 crowns, '[51] almost its weight in silver.' But Polyænus and Africanus were not then in print, and Casaubon *must* have them. But of his printed books many, the greek and hebrew especially, were not books to be found in the shops. Even new books, though their prices seem to us low, were not cheaper in relation to the means of subsistence, then than now. And then, as now, if you wanted to make a book come specially for yourself from a distance, you were obliged to pay for it. We find Casaubon, in his earliest correspondence, setting his friends to hunt for books difficult to procure. In 1596, when Sylburgius' library is to be sold at Heidelberg, Casaubon writes to Commelin, 'If there is anything scarce in it[52] to secure it, that it may not get into hands that can do nothing with it.' He had commissioned the Genevan bookseller to get him the Roman LXX of 1587, 'at any cost'—'quovis pretio.' When Richard Thomson was in Italy, he offered to

pulchros codices quam emendatos.' Mindful of the precept of Plinius, 'fateri per quos profeceris,' I must confess to owe this passage, so important for the history of palæography, to Cobet's Varr. Lectt. p. 5, note. Cobet derived it from 'Eckhel, Doctr. Numm. v. 4.'

[51] Ep. 227: 'Pene contra aurum.' Æn. Tact. p. 220, Sueton. p. 47, ed. 1611.

[52] Ep. 1004: 'Si distrahatur Sylburgii supellex, et sit aliquid rari, id quæso vel tibi, vel mihi compara.'

look out books for Casaubon[53]. Casaubon writes in reply[54], 'I need send you no list of desiderata. My little stock of books is well known to you, and since you were here, I have not acquired anything fresh. Besides, knowing as I do your forwardness to do anything for me, I cannot think of thus abusing your generosity. However, *if you should* come across anything which I have not seen, hebrew, greek, or latin, it will be very welcome.' With the same independent feeling, he writes, on another occasion, to Lambert Canter[55] that he shall only ask him to procure books, on the condition that he (Casaubon) is to pay for them. Later, in 1608, we find[56] Biondi having a standing commission to send books from Venice to Casaubon.

How the means of this outlay were obtained we do not know, while he was at the same time supplicating the council for bare subsistence. Some may have been paid in kind. He tells Commelin[57] that he 'will settle his debt to him either by editing books for him, or in some other way.' Both publishers and authors were always forward to send him copies of their learned publications. But then this had to be met, either by a return of copies of Casaubon's books, or by some service; e. g. Sebastian Henrici-Petri of Bâle[58] sends him two copies of his second edition of Homer, one for the king, and one for himself, but with the request that he would get him a copyright privilege for France. Besides new publications, presents of rarities were

[53] Burney MSS. 366. p. 225.

[54] Ep. 79, August 1596.

[55] Ep. 881.

[56] Burney MSS. 365. p. 285.

[57] Ep. 81: 'Contractum apud te æs alienum, vel βίβλια ἀντὶ βιβλίων rependens, vel alia ratione expungam.'

[58] Burney MSS. 364. 250.

sometimes made him by wealthy friends or patrons. He seems to have[59] begged books of Canaye de Fresne, who responded to the appeal with great liberality. Bongars especially, is thanked[60] for 'various gifts,' some of which were books. Thomson, though not wealthy, had sent him at least three parcels of books before 1596. Loans of great value were not seldom made him for the purposes of his various editions. These loans either became by lapse of time property, Casaubon being tacitly suffered to retain them, or still intending to use them. Certain it is that, at his death, in 1614, many such were found in his possession, and never reverted to the owners. Among these may be identified a MS. Polyænus which belonged to Bongars, having been a present from the court physician, Superville. Hoeschel of Augsburg had lent a valuable MS. of the epitome of Athenæus. Hoeschel outlived Casaubon, but never got his Athenæus again, both it and the Polyænus having been impounded, for the king's library. Another MS. of Hoeschel's, an Excerpta of Polybius, and another Polybius which had been lent by de Mesmes, remained in England, and getting in Selden's hands, became part of his collection by this process of adhesion. The same account is probably to be given of a MS. Porphyrius de Prosodia, which had been part of Corbinelli's collection, and was found among Casaubon's books at his death.

All these forms of supply were insufficient to feed his reading. He writes to de Thou (1595), '[61] No want, and I have many, is so sensibly felt by me as the want of books—books absolutely necessary for what I am writing. The old martyrologies e. g. among others. And there are other books which are indispensable for

[59] Ep. 972. [60] Ep. 1008. [61] Ep. 28.

the elucidation of antiquity, which I have not as yet been able to procure here (Geneva), and perhaps never shall.'

On the whole we may conclude that Casaubon had strained his narrow means in this one direction of expense. Pinched everywhere else, he spent all he could save on books[62]. Book-buying was to him not the indulgence of a taste or a passion, it was the acquisition of tools. While mere bibliomania is insatiable, the books wanted for a given investigation are an assignable quantity. At the present day, when the book-trade is organised, a collection of classics complete enough to work with, may be made in no long time. But at the period of which we write, when there were no advertisements, no booksellers' catalogues, and hardly any booksellers (as distinct from printers), this was not possible. Your only means of knowing what new books were being published was to attend the half-yearly fair at Frankfort. Even then you would only see the books of those printers who attended the fair, and the stock they brought with them. Each printer only troubled himself about the sale of his own publications, and in very rare cases consented to sell those of another firm. In 1595, Casaubon writes to Commelin at Heidelberg, '[63] If I ask you to send me direct all that issues from your press, it is not believe me, dearest Commelin, because I am unwilling to buy them, but because I am unable. Our booksellers here (Geneva) are a blind sort who don't care to bring back (from Frankfort) what they think will not pay. I except Favre, who is not so stupid as the rest. From him I bought such of

[62] Ep. 972: 'Reculas pene omnes meas in aliis omne genus libris absumsi.' Ep. 225: He sold books he had read, to buy others with.

[63] Ep. 44.

yours as I have got. You will have to write to de Tournes (a Genevan printer) to order him to deliver me the Chrysostom, as he refuses to do so, till he has your express commands.' From Rostock the lawyer Hanniel writes to Scaliger (1607), '[64] I have not been lucky enough to see your Eusebius yet. The indifference, or shall I say greed, of our booksellers is such that they give themselves no trouble about good books, but only think of their profits.'

Nor was the limitation of a private collection made good, as in our day, by a great public library. It is true that Geneva, even then, had a public library, which contained many valuable books. It was a legacy from Bonivard. Here Casaubon found the Apuleius of 1469, the Suetonius of 1470, and it is probable that it was the possession of these books that determined him to become the editor of those authors. But the collection though valuable was small. 'Happy they,' writes Casaubon to Pithou, 'who enjoy such libraries as yours and those of your brother. Here (Geneva) there is no one who can assist me with the loan of so much as a single old book. As for Estienne . . . he guards his books as the Indian griffins do their gold; he lets them go to rack and ruin; but what he has or what he has not got, I am entirely ignorant' (ep. 41). And again: '[65] It has been my ill-fortune not to be able to come by any books but common ones. So that the learned should make allowances for me, if in my writings they find no traces, or but few, of that more recondite learning which is only to be gathered from worm-eaten pages.' The expression used here, 'blattarii libri,' would include

[64] Burmann, Syll. 2. 743. [65] Ep. 76.

both MSS. and early editions, of the importance of which in forming a text Casaubon had lately become aware. This cry for more books was not the mere craving of a gluttonous reader, but a demand for materials for projected works. We shall therefore not be surprised to find this necessity among the causes inducing him to leave Geneva[66].

As illustrating Casaubon's circumstances, may be related the episode of his acquaintance with Sir Henry Wotton. On June 22, 1593, young Henry Wotton, then in his twenty-fifth year, arrived at Geneva, in the course of a prolonged tour which had been extended over Germany, Austria, Italy, and Switzerland. It was rather a residence on the continent than a tour, for he was nine years absent from England altogether, acquiring that knowledge of foreign languages, which afterwards qualified him for the Venetian embassy. At the time of his arrival at Geneva he was poor and unknown. It so chanced that he took up his lodging in the house of Casaubon, to whom he was recommended by Richard Thomson. Wotton's first impressions of Geneva are, though only a glimpse, a graphic picture of its interior in those years.

Aug. 22, 1593, To Lord Zouch[67].—'Here I am placed, to my very great contentment, in the house of Mr. Isaac Casaubon, a person of sober condition among the French. . . . Concerning news, your honour knows we are here rather scholars than politicians, and sooner good than wise. Yet thus much I must say, that the state of the town is undone with war, even in manners,

[66] Cf. Ep. 980: 'Nos, in eo terrarum angulo positi, ubi scripta ejus generis non facile reperiuntur, quædam nulla diligentia consequi adhuc possumus.' This was in 1594.

[67] Ap. Reliquiæ Wottonianæ, p. 710.

for certainly I have not seen worse temptations in Italy. Not to let your honour be melancholy, I cannot abstain to tell you, that since the dayes began to shorten, the women, before seeming to have digested certain humors with walking, do now shell hemp till an hour or two in the night, upon the bankes (benches) in the street, and fires before them made of those shales, a custom drawing with it many pretty examples and opportunities. In short, it was three days since forbidden with the sound of the trumpet[68]. Some accuse the war, and lay the fault upon the Dutch (Germans) as having brought into the town intemperance and ebriety, and such other evils as follow them.'

Casaubon was charmed with his inmate. Wotton according to Walton (Life) was 'of a choice shape, tall of stature, and of a most persuasive behaviour, which was so mixed with sweet discourse and civilities, as gained him much love from all persons with whom he entered into an acquaintance.' Against such winning qualities Casaubon was not proof, and allowed the gay Englishman to run in debt to him for part of his year's board and lodging. The usual tariff for board and lodging was, as we have seen, about ninety florins. Wotton, when at Vienna, paid two florins a week for 'chamber, stove and table,' at which rate he reckoned that it cost him more by £5. 4*s*. yearly than it would cost a 'good careful scholar in the universities of England.' If rhenish florins are meant, this rate

[68] Ordinances or proclamations of the council were by ancient custom so made known in the Swiss towns. Jussie, Levain, etc. p. 21: 'A son trompette,' and Gaullieur, p. 128, quotes the Registre du conseil, 9 mai, 1539: 'Arreté qu'on fasse publier à voix de trompe, que nul n'aye à imprimer chose que soit . . . sans licence de Messieurs.'

would be about £20 sterling per annum, of that day[69]. Wotton had no attendant with him, and was in other respects very economical. Indeed he had need to be so, if his whole fortune was the rent charge of 100 marks, which had been left him by his father. Be this as it may, from failure of remittances, he was not able to pay his bill when he wanted to leave. The sum of 33 gold crowns would have been a serious loss to Casaubon. But this was not the worst. Wotton had prevailed on Casaubon to become surety for a much larger sum, which he had borrowed from a banker, 124 gold crowns. And another creditor of Wotton's, who had lent him a further sum of 106 crowns, being himself about to leave Geneva, came upon Casaubon to repay him. Even the very horse, on which he had ridden away, Wotton had taken on credit—Casaubon's credit—and the dealer might come any day to Casaubon to be paid. All was to be settled by remittances from Frankfort. The autumn fair came on, the merchants returned from Frankfort, and there was not only no cash, but not even a line from Wotton. Casaubon was in the depths of despair. He could do nothing and think of nothing but his loss. Two hundred and sixty-three crowns, besides the horse! It was impossible for him to raise the sum. He wrote to Wotton in England, to Thomson, to Scaliger to interest himself in his behalf with the French ambassador at the Hague. It was Christmas before Wotton paid. But he did so at last in full. Though we may acquit Wotton of dishonesty, we must condemn him for culpable neglect.

[69] From Grynæus' epistles (Norimb. 1720) we learn that the usual tariff at Bâle, at this period, in a professor's house, was 26 to 30 batzen per week. A rhenish florin contained 21 batzen.

Poor as the provision made for Casaubon by the city was, it was not compensated by leisure. Casaubon, in these years, complains of poverty, he complains much more of want of time. This complaint may seem inconsistent with the fact, that his statute only bound him to eight hours a week of lecture. But he had now added latin to his greek lecturing, and for a time supplied the place of the hebrew lecturer[70]. And it is probable that he was driven by necessity to give private instruction, or at least that he did so to the young men who lodged in his house, or who came to Geneva, as many now began to do, with special recommendation to him. And the demand on his time[71] occasioned by lectures must not be measured by the hours of delivery, but by those of preparation.

We have the means in our hands of measuring, with some exactness, what the level of the greek and latin classes at Geneva, in these years, was. Three, at least, of Casaubon's published commentaries are, in substance, reproductions of his courses dictated to his class at Geneva. Of these, the Notes on Persius are of uncertain date; those on Theophrastus are not later than 1590; those on the 2nd book of Suetonius are of 1592. As the Notes on Diogenes Laertius give us the measure of Casaubon's own acquirement æt. 25, so these three commentaries enable us to form a fair notion of what was the character of the instruction expected, and given, in the academy of Geneva in the

[70] Ep. 879: 'Vixi annos 14 Genevæ, professor primo Græcarum literarum, deinde etiam Latinarum, aliquando etiam Hebræarum.' The 'Latin' professorship is that which is called in the order in council, Geneva MSS, Registre du pet. cons. 22 nov. 1585, fº. 160, 'Ung professeur en éloquence pour lire l'histoire.'

[71] Ep. 972: 'Docendi munere laboriosissimo fungor assidue.'

closing years of the 16th century[72]. Not that the printed commentary is the lecture as delivered. Casaubon's lectures were not written out, they were extempore. But they were from the notes he took into the classroom. These notes were chiefly references to the relevant passages in other books. The same nucleus of memoranda received a different development, when written out in the shape of a commentary for readers, and when addressed orally to a class of pupils. But the substance and character of the illustration remained the same. Nor is it difficult in the commentary, e. g. on Theophrastus, to pick out passages, the tone of which stamps them as portions of a lecture. A lecturer will not go where his class cannot follow. That Casaubon did not, we know from the success and popularity of his teaching. But we might infer it also from the different character of some 'Notes on Aristophanes'[73] which are the substance of a course delivered at Paris in 1601. In that year Casaubon interpreted 'The Knights' to a circle of friends in his own house[74]. Here we find the lecturer judiciously adapting himself to an audience composed of older persons, but manifestly less advanced in knowledge of the language than the younger class, with whom he had read Theophrastus ten years before at Geneva[75]. Casau-

[72] Schultze, Epp. inedd. p. 14: 'Olim cum Genevæ essem et frequenti auditorio poetam illum publice exponerem, id serio agebam, ut etiam rudiorum rationem haberem. Hinc illa λεπτολογήματα, quæ doctos offendere non debent, quia illis scripta non sunt.'

[73] First printed by L. Kuster in his Aristophanes, Amstel. 1710.

[74] Eph. p. 384.

[75] Kuster accordingly finds the Notes 'non æque elaboratæ ac alia, quæ habemus, eruditissimi illius viri opera, prælectiones enim potius fuisse videntur in tironum usum conscriptæ.'

bon had been transferred, almost without interval, from the bench of the learner to the chair of the teacher. What he had learned under Portus, he was to teach to others. We cannot suppose that he raised, at one stroke, the standard of the whole school, or changed its character. What he did, Portus must have been doing, though perhaps not so thoroughly, before him.

Weighing all these facts, we can arrive at a tolerably near estimate of the range and compass of classical instruction in the academy of Geneva. We find a width of reading possessed by the teacher, and a level of philological curiosity assumed in the learner, which it would not be easy to find surpassed in the most celebrated lecturerooms of our time. We may safely affirm, that such teaching could neither have been given nor appreciated without the most unremitting effort on the part both of teacher and taught. Of himself the Professor has told us, that it taxed all his energies to master the Roman history of the first century, A. D., in a way which was adequate to the demands of his class[76]. The time demanded of the Professor, eight hours per week, is not heavy; but his every hour was required to obtain the mastery of the period, and the survey of the whole of the authorities, without which he was not content to pronounce an opinion on a single passage. He does not content himself with the bare explanation of the text of his author. He would grapple with all the difficulties which emerge, not only in the text, but in the matter. And these difficultes he will

[76] Ded. in Sueton.: 'In quo negotio ut ea fide versarer, quam et muneris mei ratio postulabat, et alacritas honestissimorum adolescentium qui mihi assiduam operam navabant . . .'

meet, not by retailing solutions ready made by previous commentators; he offers one founded on his own reading and comparison of passages. And this comparison is not one instituted for the particular occasion by inspection of an isolated text or paragraph. The whole of each author is read and possessed, and it is with this complete feeling, that the citation required is brought up as illustration. The sense of thoroughness, thus conveyed by a lecturer's method, renders a wrong solution more valuable than a right one arrived at by superficial reading, or taken upon the authority of another expositor.

Besides the books already named, we find him taking as his text-book, Arrianus' Diatribæ, and Polybius. Polybius was chosen with a view to catch the interest of the military men. The lecturer went into the constitution of the Roman army, and had, for this purpose, that portion of the greek text separately struck off. The Arrianus, as afterwards Persius, was selected with a view to edification. The printed commentaries retain traces of this moral purpose which had inspired the lecturer. It was a sentiment which dominated the academy, nay, the state. It was its moral intensity more than its pure orthodoxy, which gave Geneva the lead of the calvinistic churches, and caused its school to be sought from all parts. A few years after Casaubon left, Valentin Andreæ was struck with the contrast between the religious earnestness of Geneva, and the dogmatic scholasticism of German lutheranism. Vice and luxury were here criminal offences[77]. Casaubon's lectures are coloured, without being corrupted, by the same tone. He never shirks difficulties under the cover of moral reflection. But he

[77] J. V. Andreæ, Vita ab ipso conscripta, p. 24.

aims to vivify classical literature, and to read a stoical book in the spirit in which it was written. It becomes not a mere grammatical amusement, but an education of character for the young, an instruction in life and manners for persons of all ages. The affinity which this temper felt for stoical literature—for Arrianus, or Persius, is easily understood. It is characteristic of Beza, the able negotiator and man of affairs, that he should have recommended Cicero's letters to Atticus as a text-book. And when Casaubon wished to gratify his own antiquarian taste by reading on Tertullianus De Pallio, the 'cœtus pastorum' vetoed the book, as unedifying. Though his preference was for prose, the tragic poets were not omitted, and Euripides was often in hand.

These are all the authors mentioned by name as having been taken for text-books by Casaubon. But in the course of fourteen years' professorship many others must have had their turn. He can hardly have altogether ignored the requirements of his statute, which names 'Aristotle, Plato, or Plutarch' expressly as books for the greek reader. Yet two inferences from this fragmentary information seem to be warranted. First, that Casaubon dwelt more fondly on the historical, antiquarian, and learned literature of Greece, than on the poets and philosophers of the best period.

Secondly, that there did not exist in the academy of Geneva anything like a prescribed curriculum of classical study, through which each student must necessarily pass. Indeed if this fixed 'cursus' was not laid down in theology, as it was not, it was much less likely that the literæ humaniores should have been methodised. The German universities even seem, at

this period, to have left their professors very much to their own choice of subject, in the philosophical faculty. Much more was this the case at Geneva, where edification and piety were the first or sole concern. Moral and religious discipline was severe, and rigidly enforced; intellectual discipline had not come into existence.

This latitude of choice, both as to text-book and as to treatment, should have mitigated to Casaubon the grievance of lecturing. For he could thus read before his class the book, on which he was employed himself. Yet there were bounds to this freedom. First, it was limited by the approbation of the 'cœtus pastorum.' The ministers exercised a strict surveillance over the teaching, not only in the school, but in the academy. When Casaubon proposed to lecture on Tertullianus De Pallio, it was vetoed. A professor could not even publish without first submitting his book to their censorship. For[78] leave to print his innocent Notes on Diogenes Laertius, Casaubon was compelled to get a special permit from the council.

The lecturer was also obliged to have some regard to the students. There were, it is true, no examina-

[78] Geneva MSS. 12 févr. 1583, f°. 25ᵛ: 'Mr. Isaac Casaubon, professeur, qui a présenté requeste tendant à luy permettre d'imprimer deux livres qu'il a composés, l'ung intitulé Notæ in Laertium, le second Observationum liber, qui ont esté vus par Mr. de Bèze et M. Rotan, a esté arresté qu'on luy ouctroie sa requeste.' Why Casaubon was required to obtain an order for publication on this occasion, I am unable to say. It does not appear that other Genevan authors did so, nor did Casaubon do so for his later publications. The 'Observationum liber,' which is said to have been submitted to the two ministers, was never published, nor does any such MS. appear among the 'Adversaria.' Cas. ep. 433, tells Bongars that he had kept back 'librum unum observationum nostrarum in sacros et ecclesiasticos scriptores.'

tions, no curriculum, nor even any established authors imposed by opinion. But then the greek class in the academy was not compulsory, and it was necessary to carry your hearers with you. The kind of books on which Casaubon would have willingly worked himself were impossible. Theocritus would have been vetoed by the censors; Athenæus would have been beyond the reach of the class.

Thus the work of editing and the work of lecturing were incompatible. In the conflict between the two, there could be no doubt that the former would ultimately carry the day. Casaubon does not share the disgust which Scaliger expressed for professorial teaching[79]. Even in 1596 he declares himself[80] 'ready to exert all his power to be of use to his auditors,' but his interest now centres elsewhere. His ambition is fired. He has extended his horizon beyond the classroom to the republic of letters. He has found that he can write, on classical antiquity, what attracts the attention of the learned; what Scaliger does not disdain. He is now wild with eagerness to prefix his name to some edition of a capital work[81]. What he has hitherto done is mere prelude, juvenile production, hurried scribblement. What he has written, on Diogenes Laertius and Theocritus, is '[82] of that sort that he will not acknow-

[79] Scal^a^. 1^a^. p. 18: 'Si vitam Josepho Scaligero Deus longiorem concesserit, nullus auctor futurus est, primarios dico, quem non emendaturus sit; ad id enim aptus natus est, non à caqueter en chaire et pedanter.' The words, thus reported by Vertunien, are doubtless those which Scaliger himself used.

[80] Ep. 50: 'Vires ingenii contendere.'

[81] Ep. 74: 'Insanus quidam æstus rei literariæ juvandæ.'

[82] Ep. 4.

ledge it for his.' The notes on the Gospels and Acts 'were extorted from him by the publishers.' He is more than usually emphatic in depreciating their value, and in promising what he 'will do in the same field hereafter, if God shall give him leisure' (Notæ in N. T. fin.). The Strabo is '[83] no legitimate offspring of his, a mere abortion.' He will show what he can do by attacking the desperate chaos of the great storehouse of classical wit and learning—Athenæus.

This literary ardour was, however, liable to be checked by a controling religious sentiment, which was continually pushing Casaubon in the direction of theological reading. This divine instinct was ever suggesting the futility of worldly knowledge, and the superior value of religious studies. This impression may be traced to the early years of the son of the Huguenot pastor who had to fly to the hills in the reign of Terror. When in 1583 Isaac presented his literary first-born, the Observations on Diogenes Laertius, to his father, and laid before him the schemes of publication with which at 24 his brain was teeming, the good man smiled, commended his zeal for learning, but said, 'he had rather have a single observation on the sacred volume than all the fine things he was concocting[84].' And this was not altogether the contempt of ignorance, the dictum of a man who prizes the Bible, because he knows no other book. The man who had emphatically recommended Strabo to his son[85] as useful reading could not have been a mere ignorant zealot.

The sentiment thus implanted in early life was

[83] Ep. 11.

[84] Meric Cas. Pietas, p. 98.

[85] See p. 5.

nourished by the atmosphere of Geneva. The pupil and admirer of Beza, who thought life scarce tolerable away from Beza's side[86], was not likely to be allowed to regard classical learning as a worthy life-pursuit. Beyond again these influences of early impression and later environment, religious awe was constitutional in Casaubon, and connected with his depressed nervous organism. Hence it was most potent in his seasons of illness. Such an impulse came over him when, æt. 28, prostrated by the tension of overwork, he abandoned the study of the law and betook himself to theology. Law was left for ever; but theology soon gave place to Strabo. Ten years later, æt. 38, he writes to Sibrand Lubbert, professor of theology at Franequer, '[87] You invite me to take up some portion of the history of the primitive church. How willingly would I, if I might! Believe me that if I have hitherto lived for studies of another kind, it has been chance, not choice, that has determined it so. Yet I have never so far forgotten myself as to form a deliberate resolve of resigning myself to literature. Circumstances forced me in early youth into this line of reading, and I have been kept dreaming on the rocks of the Sirens ever since. So the best part of my life has been passed in studies very different from what I should have chosen for myself.' This is in September 1596, and he immediately plunges into his greatest classical effort—the edition of Athenæus. While he is working at Athenæus, he is wishing, all the while, that he was reading the Fathers. '[88] Oh! when will the

[86] Ep. 114: 'Vivendi omnes causas mihi periisse puto.'

[87] Ep. 77.

[88] Ephem. p. 77.

day come,' sighs the diary of March 13, 1598, 'when it shall be God's will that I shall have done with this editing, and be free to give myself to better studies.' In 1595 he writes to Bongars[89], 'That learning which was, in former days, my highest ambition, has now small charms for me; amid all this public misery one's mind requires somewhat on which it can stay and repose itself.' From the first there were in Casaubon two men, the theologian and the scholar. He never rose to the point of union, where theology falls into its place, as a branch of learning. He was continually oscillating between the two, as rival, and incompatible, claimants. The age, with its predominant theological interests, was too much for him. After seeming for a while to emancipate his mind, and give it undivided to classical research, we shall see him, in his later years, falling back again into the attitude of t e vulgar theological polemic.

If we recall the situation of Geneva during the 14 years of Casaubon's professorate, we shall see, that this highly charged devotional atmosphere was nourished, if not created, by the pressure of external peril. Exposed to the incessant assaults of a powerful neighbour, the city was almost perpetually in a state of siege, and all its able-bodied citizens under arms. Its only hope of support was from the Swiss confederation, and the Protestant cantons, secure themselves, seem to have looked upon the struggles of Geneva with apathy. Grynæus writes calmly to a friend (October 26, 1586), '[90] Dom. Beza makes many complaints of the public

[89] Ep. 42: 'Illa quam tantopere olim ambiimus *πολυμάθεια* . . . nunc minus grata; quærit enim animus, in his publicis miseriis aliud, nescio quid, in quo acquiescat.' [90] Gryn. Epp. ep. 47.

miseries and straits of the city of Geneva.' The moral result on a generation, growing up under such training, might well have been military barbarism. But another counteracting influence came into play. The aggression of the Duke of Savoy was not a war of ambition and aggrandisement, but of religious passion. To root out heresy was the paramount motive. The fury of the catholic exterminator encountered an equal religious exaltation in the calvinistic resistance. 'If the Lord had not been on our side' was the heartfelt ejaculation of the Genevan citizen as he witnessed the repeated and miraculous escapes of his republic from treacherous surprise, or the constant pressure of superior force. '[91] Whatever has been achieved against the enemy,' Casaubon writes in 1590, 'has been done by God's own hand, which we have seen, I may say, with our eyes.' Piety became not a personal sentiment, but a public creed. The moral force thus inspired into that generation—Beza's generation—was more favourable to learning, than the external security of the half-century which followed 1601. Learning was not encouraged by the administration as such, but it was not interfered with. Under the literal (calvinistic) orthodoxy of the 17th century it became impossible for it to exist. But as long as Beza lived, it received toleration, if not respect. '[92] You may well be surprised, but so it is,' says Casaubon, 'I have enjoyed, through all, more leisure than ever I had, and I have divided my time between the recension of the text of Aristotle, and looking on at the wonders the Lord hath wrought for us.' The enthusiasm of private study alternates with fits of dejection when the student

[91] Ep. 5.

[92] Ep. 5. 1590.

looks on the world without. '[98] You have been rightly informed,' he tells Joachim Camerarius, 1594, 'I am deep in Athenæus, and I hope my labour on the edition will not be altogether in vain. But one's industry is sadly damped by the reflection how greek is now neglected and despised. Looking to posterity, or the next generation, what motive has one for devotion to study?'

If it is the general law of nature that genius is evoked and nourished by its environment, Casaubon is a singular exception. Neither in Geneva, nor among his wider circle of correspondents, if we except Scaliger, whom he only came to know in 1594, had he rivalry, example, or encouragement. In Geneva nothing that could be called literary interest existed. A poor and starved seminary for pious training; a trading printing press for the sale of school-books, and sermons; a theology not formal, but interfused through every day's life and thinking. An armed enemy crouched at their gates, watching his opportunity for the death spring; each day bringing news of some fresh outrage on their coreligionists, in the countries where the catholic reaction was in its full tide. On this ungenial soil, Casaubon developed out of his own instincts the true idea of classical learning. Not an idea of scientific philology as we conceive it, but that of a complete mastery of the ancient world by exhaustive reading; a reconstruction of Greek and Roman antiquity out of the extant remains of the literature. Instead of wondering that he allowed this ideal to be obscured to him by the clouds of party polemics, what is surprising is that he should ever

[98] Ep. 996.

have been able, an untaught and unfriended man, struggling himself with chill penury, to rise to it.

The depreciation of his own performance, which was one of Casaubon's mental habits, was founded on the disparagement of secular knowledge in comparison of piety, which was the intellectual atmosphere he had to breathe.

But it was further connected with that oppression of mind, which the infinity of knowledge lays upon its votaries. The man of science is often drawn as standing on a proud pinnacle, from which he surveys his conquests, and sees the universe, whose secret he has wrested, spread at his feet. It is otherwise with the man of learning. He may joy in pursuit, but he can never exult in possession. The thought 'quantum est quod nescimus'—Heinsius' motto—keeps him not only humble, but despondent. Even in science, some of the greatest men have shared the sense of baffled endeavour. Newton's pebbles on the sea-shore are become proverbial. La Place's dying words were, 'l'homme ne poursuit que de chimères.' But it is the scholar who is, more than other investigators, subject to these periods of darkness and gloom. The hopelessness of the task, which Casaubon had set himself, imparts a hurry and restlessness to his day.

The constant complaint of want of time reiterated by Casaubon in every preface, in his commentaries, in his letters—'[94] I am so busy that I have hardly time to draw breath,' are not the mere apology for imperfection, like the 'in haste' often added at the bottom of a bad letter. They are indicative of a settled habit of mind. Casaubon is oppressed not by hours of teaching, but by his own studies. Research

[94] Ep. 14. 1594.

is infinite; it can never be finished. The speculative philosopher, who has exhausted thought, may sit with his head in the clouds, and feed himself on contemplation. But the commentator on a classical author can never make an end. He is never sure that the very passage which would explain his difficulty may not have escaped him. '[95]The author alludes,' Casaubon notes on Diogenes Laertius, 'to a practice of that day, which I do not remember to have seen noticed by any other author or annotator.' But the allusion may turn up. If he had but a little more time to read! Casaubon is always ill at ease, unless he is acquiring, and acquisition does but give him a glimpse of the untravelled world beyond. He will do better things in time,—with more time—that is the cry of these years of the Genevan professorate. Bongars ventured to expostulate with him on the slightness of so many of the things he put his name to. Casaubon is thankful for the reproof, and promises in future '[96]to digest with thorough care and diligence what I may prepare for editing.' But he is not cured. In 1605 we hear: '[97]I am so distracted with engagements that I swear to you that what I print goes to press almost before I have thought it out.'

His aim is always far ahead of his achievement. His repeated engagement that he will some day do better is an illusion. But it is not the illusion of presumption. He grounds his confidence not on his own ability, but on the hope of leisure—that leisure which is always promised, but never comes to the student. He knows the limitation of his own talent. He tells Scaliger, '[98]The disposition has never been

[95] Notæ in Diog. p. 66.
[96] Ep. 18. 1594.
[97] Ep. 457.
[98] Ep. 17. 1594.

wanting, but I have lacked all helps, even the most indispensable. I have never had time of my own. And I have no talent. I mean natural gifts, not learning, if I may call that learning which is possessed by men like me. Ambition is always impelling me to greater aims, but the "frigidus circum præcordia sanguis" paralyses me. I never take up your books, or those of your great father, but I lay them down in despair at my own progress, and resolve to adopt for my motto λάθε βίωσας.'

Hence he is anxious for the good opinion of others; but only for that of those who are able to judge. All writing, at least all publication, is an appeal to the verdict of the competent. When Newton wrote (February 18, 1670), 'You have my leave to insert the solution of the annuity problem in the "Philosophical Transactions," so it be without my name to it; for I see not what there is desirable in public esteem, were I able to acquire and maintain it,' it is not 'morbid temperament' as De Morgan[99] would call it. It is contempt for the unfounded plaudits of the uninstructed, a contempt which implies respect for the appreciation of experts. Towards the close of his Genevan period, Casaubon is ever ready to enlarge his circle of friends, yet not by making promiscuous acquaintance, but by cultivating the likeminded, wherever they could be found. Before he left Geneva, and before the publication of his Athenæus, he was becoming known, not only by name, but personally, to the reading world. The greek scholars who formed a select company within the general body of the reading public, had now their attention fixed on Casaubon as the rising light, from which illumination

[99] Budget of Paradoxes, p. 456

was to be looked for. They court his notice, or he seeks their acquaintance, by letter. The area of his correspondence extends rapidly each year. By-and-bye his letters will come to constitute a new demand on his time. In April 1590, he undertakes a journey to the Frankfort fair, for the purpose of meeting Lipsius. He is disappointed. Lipsius does not come; Casaubon is obliged to be content with writing to Lipsius from Frankfort, to say that if he had leisure, he would go all the way to Belgium to make his acquaintance.

Casaubon's earlier friends, so far as they were learned—we should say literary, all literature was then learned—were among his colleagues in the academy. Among these the first place is due to the venerable Beza. To the aged Beza, by 40 years his senior, Casaubon looked up as a son to a parent. Years after Beza's death, Casaubon writes to Prideaux (April 7, 1613): '[1] During the 14 years of my Genevan professorship, the whole company of pastors and professors at Geneva regarded me, as they still regard me, with sincere affection. To Beza, above the rest, was I very dear, he treating me as his son, while I respected him as a parent. Were I boastingly inclined, I might boast of having been for so many years Beza's colleague. But from him I learnt to think humbly of myself, and if I have been able to do aught in letters to ascribe all the glory to God.' Beza's time and thought had, indeed, for many years been absorbed by the public affairs of the reformed churches or by those of his pastoral office. But Beza was a man of no vulgar learning. Though he had long relinquished the classics himself, he knew the value of greek.

[1] Ep. 879.

Casaubon preserved among his papers two pages of conjectures on the text of Plutarch, which had been given him by Beza, 'manus suæ monimentum,' as an autograph[2]. Beza's own attainments[3] were considerable; he knew, what few did, how far Scaliger's went beyond those of any other living man. On Beza's death, Casaubon writes to Scaliger (November, 1605), 'I may tell you what I know, that in him you have lost one of the few who know how rightly to esteem you. I was seldom with him, but we spoke of you, and I do not know if there was any one else in all that country, except Beza, who thoroughly understood your position in the republic of letters[4].' It is to Casaubon that we owe one of the last glimpses of the Genevan reformer[5]. On a visit to Geneva in June 1603, he spent a day in the company of Beza, then

[2] Adversaria, tom. 11.

[3] Though we must not adopt the exaggerating assertion of Dieterici, Antiq. Bibl. prolegg. p. 18, that Beza, before he began his notes on the N. T., had 'gone through (evolverit) all the Greek authors, sacred and profane.'

[4] Ep. 479.

[5] Eph. p. 493: 'Hoc die . . Beza . . etiam cœna nos accepit, me, inquam, uxorem, et amicissimum Pinaldum. Deus bone! qui vir? quæ pietas? quæ doctrina? o vere magnum virum,' etc. Compare with L'Estoile, Registre-journal, 25 aug. 1603: 'M. Casaubon, revenu de son voyage de Dauphiné, ayant passé par Genève, me conta, qu'il y avoit vû M. de Bèze, agé pour le présent de 85 ans, et qu'ayant long-tems communiqué avec lui, il n'y avoit apperçu aucune diminution d'esprit et de mémoire pour le regard de sa théologie et des bonnes lettres, mais pour les affaires du monde; qu'il en avoit perdu du tout la mémoire et la connoissance; demandait à tout le monde comme se portait la reine d'Angleterre; ne lui avoit jamais pu persuader d'écrire au roi d'Angleterre, disant qu'il étoit mort au monde, et qu'il lui falloit songer de mourir, et non d'écrire aux rois et aux reines'

aged 84, who entertained him at dinner in the evening. Though his memory for the facts of the day was gone, so that he could not remember that Elizabeth had ceased to be Queen of England, yet when the talk was of religion or theology, he spoke with all his usual verve, and was ready to quote the words of the New Testament, either in latin or in the original.

Of all Casaubon's Genevan friends—for his relation to Beza was filial rather than friendly—Lect was the dearest and most intimate. Jacques Lect was law professor till poverty obliged the council to cashier him. He was Casaubon's own age, and no mere lawyer, but occupied himself with the classics, at least in his leisure hours. Thus, while his professorship was suspended, he published an edition of Symmachus[6]. In 1585 the council had voted him a gratuity of 100 florins, '[7] vu le grand nombre des livres qu'il est obligé d'avoir.' He was the only man in Geneva who could give any sympathy to Casaubon in his classical studies. When Casaubon removed to Montpellier, Lect felt himself alone in his native city[8]. 'Would that we could be again together, and see the suns down, as we used!' writes Casaubon to him[9]. 'My dearest wish is either to have you here (Montpellier) or to be there (Geneva) with you, so that we may spend together what remains of life. Without you life to me is no life.'

[6] In 1587. See Symm. Epp. ded.: 'Per id temporis dum a publica juris interpretatione vaco.'

[7] Registre du conseil, ap. Grénus, 1585.

[8] Burney MSS. 365. p. 52: 'Dolens mœrensque vixi ego; postquam sine te, mi Casaubone . . . in hac solitudine.'

[9] Ep. 112: 'Utinam, mi Lecti, iterum utinam vel tu hic mecum, vel ego istic tecum vitæ quod superest degere, unaque soles, ut eramus soliti, condere aliquando possimus.'

With the celebrated Pacius—Pacio de Beriga—the other law-professor, Casaubon was on friendly but not intimate terms. Pacius was a reader and editor of Aristotle, and Casaubon had been his pupil in civil law and philosophy[10]. Pacius always impressed upon his pupils the importance of classical reading, and in a letter to Casaubon[11], regrets the tendency of the law students to neglect the classics. 'I wish,' he writes, 'you had not quitted Montpellier before my arrival. I flatter myself you never would have done so. Our professions, though different, are allied, and aid each other.'

Next to his colleagues came his pupils, among whom a few could value his vast acquirements, and none could be insensible to his amiable and affectionate disposition. Besides, the metropolis of calvinism drew pilgrims, 'religionis ergo,' from all the reformed countries. And travellers, without religious objects, already began to take Geneva as a desirable halting-place en route from Italy. Others, who came not to Geneva, men of rank and influence, began to offer him their friendship or their patronage.

Of these last the most distinguished were de Thou (Thuanus), Bongars, and de Fresne. These three eminent men served France in important diplomatic missions, and the first two were devoted to ancient learning, and collectors of greek books.

[10] Ep. 879: 'Tres annos impendi iis studiis, publice et privatim usus doctore Pacio, cujus Organon, et alia scripta philosophica, opinor, vidisti.'

[11] Burney MSS. 365, p. 284: 'Ego humaniores istas literas, in quibus excellis, plurimi facio, doleo autem plerosque studiosos vel aversari, vel negligere, qui cum juri dent operam, quicquid . . . auctoritatis habeo, totum in id insumpsissem ut tibi essent addicti, quod et ipsis et reipublicæ utilissimum arbitror.'

Jacques Auguste de Thou was the last, and most illustrious, example of those public men who were formed to affairs upon the study of greek and roman history. Instead of composing his memoirs, like his cotemporaries, in French, he chose Latin, not because it was the language of diplomacy, but because it alone was capable of classical handling. Thrust into employment against his will, dragged perpetually from the retirement he loved to undertake difficult or dangerous negotiations, his heart was in his library, and his historical work. The history of 'Thuanus' was long the manual of statesmen all over Europe. It is now wholly neglected, even in the country of its author. The cause of this neglect is not merely the language, a difficulty which might have been overcome by translation. It is because it is too minute. Even in 1733, and before the revolution of '89 had opened a new and absorbing page of history, Lord Carteret pointed to the extent of the work as fatal to its popularity. Containing the history of only sixty-four years, it has been calculated[12] that de Thou's folios would require twelve months, at four hours a day, for their perusal. The world has now too long a history for us to afford time to know it! Thus the very merit of de Thou's 'Historia,' its completeness, is the cause of its being left unread. De Thou was a catholic, but a 'politique,' and would gladly have secured Casaubon for France, without attempting to convert him.

Jacques Bongars was a calvinist, and a calvinist who would not allow his faith to be tampered with, but he was of the moderate school, who, under the cant name of 'moyenneurs,' were odious to the zealots. Casaubon

[12] Legendre, I 56.

never mentions Bongars, but he couples a reference to his 'piety' with praise of his love for letters. Bongars was much relied on by Henri IV. in his negotiations with South-Germany and the Swiss cantons, by reason of the thorough knowledge he possessed of their affairs. He was chiefly stationed at Strassburg, which, as the frontier city of the empire, and at the same time a free town, was a convenient post of observation for a French envoy. Bongars had made Casaubon's acquaintance when he was on his hasty visit to Frankfort in 1590, and was attracted at once, by his enthusiasm for learning, and by religious sympathy. Bongars, like de Thou, had prepared himself for a diplomatic career, by the study of the roman law and of the classics. In 1581, when only in his 27th year, he had published an edition of Justin, which earned for him from Niebuhr the praise of 'distinguished interpreter[13].' The text, which Bongars constructed from a real collation of MSS, however faulty, had remained untouched at the time when Niebuhr spoke. But Bongars studied the classics with the aims of a man of the world. He thus indicates his early studies in a letter to a friend[14]: 'It is not the travelled man only who has seen life; he may be said to have seen it too, who has made himself acquainted with the revolutions of states, the geography of countries, and the manners of different nations. This knowledge we may acquire from the writings of historians. So, while you linger in Italy to enjoy the conversation of its learned men, I have been running over a great portion of the greek and latin historians.' His letters, as giving the thread of the

[13] Vorträge üb. alte Gesch. p. 13.

[14] Bongars to Rose, 1581.

South-German politics, were, though written by a protestant, reprinted by permission of Louis XIV, for the use of the Dauphin, but with characteristic omissions.

Neither the pressure of public employments, nor the corrupting example of the French court, extinguished Bongars' love for learning and learned books. In 1604 he writes to a friend: 'You will smile at my folly,—I, who though a courtier, and not wealthy, when all are flocking about the king, to get out of him what they can, turn my back on it all, and post off into the country to waste my substance in buying up worm-eaten books (i. e. at the sale of Cujas' library). My court is paid to my books; oh! could I only sit down in quiet to enjoy them, I would not envy either the Persians, or Sully, their wealth!' The books which Bongars thus loved were nowhere collected together, but were at his death found dispersed, like the library of Richard Heber, in several places. As he was liberal in lending them, many never returned to him at all. So generous was he, to Casaubon in particular, that Casaubon seems to have ceased to distinguish between those books which were given, and those which were only lent him. The British Museum now possesses more than one of Bongars' greek MSS. which passed to it along with the other books of Casaubon which have found their resting-place there.

Philip Canaye, the sieur de Fresne, had also been bred up on the civil law and classical books. He had translated, into French, extracts from Aristotle's Organon (Paris, 1589), a translation made, perhaps with Casaubon's aid, at Lausanne, where he resided as representative of the king of France. After being employed in various negotiations by Henri IV, among

others one in England (1590), he was named president of the 'chambre mipartie' in the Parlement of Languedoc, which sate at Castres. At the conference of Fontainebleau (1600) he was convinced by the arguments of Du Perron, or rather qualified himself for the Venetian embassy, by declaring himself a catholic.

These three personages, de Thou, Bongars, and de Fresne, were, along with Pierre Pithou, at this period, Casaubon's most influential friends and well wishers on the French side. They made it their common object to secure him for France. And it was through de Fresne's influence that his removal to Montpellier was brought about. Before we come to this event in his life we may finish the survey of his circle of friends.

We have said that some of the learned, or lovers of learning, sought Casaubon's acquaintance by writing to him directly, or by sending him a polite message through a common friend. The acquaintance of others Casaubon challenged, by writing to them to propose friendship. This was not always a safe proceeding. Casaubon had, in this way, solicited Leunclavius in a letter charged to the muzzle with gratifying compliments. He ascertained that the letter reached Leunclavius, and his irritation at getting no response sharpened the language of some (otherwise just) censure of Leunclavius' Dio Cassius (1592), as Casaubon himself confesses, not without some remorse[15].

He was more successful in a quarter of much more consequence. Casaubon must naturally have wished for a word of approbation or encouragement, from the dictator of letters. But none came. Scaliger had been, 1593, settled some months at Leyden, had bidden

[15] Ep. 994.

farewell to France, and seemed thus to be removed to a distance, from which Casaubon could hardly hope to be visible to his eye. After much hesitation Casaubon plucked up courage to send a greeting to Scaliger, by Richard Thomson, the young M.A. of Clare hall, who was returning to England, *viâ* Leyden. Having gone so far, he went a step further, and followed up his message by a letter, in which he introduced himself in terms, which were certainly humble, but not more so than became their respective age and position. To the letter came no answer. Casaubon began to feel the awkwardness of a man who has made unacceptable advances, when Thomson, who was making some stay at Leyden, wrote to inform him that his message had been graciously accepted, and that the archcritic had uttered an emphatic commendation of Casaubon. The Theophrastus had just reached Leyden, and Scaliger, who may not have been greatly struck with such of Casaubon's books as he had previously seen, had instantly recognised the merits of this commentary, replete with knowledge. Thomson further hinted that why Casaubon had never been noticed before, was, that he had not sent Scaliger any of his publications. On the receipt of this message, Casaubon wrote again, prostrating himself at the feet of the prince of letters, in terms which we should call extravagant, if they were not so obviously sincere. He apologised for not having offered any of his books, because none of them had been worthy of Scaliger's notice. He promised to send the Strabo (1587), but not till he had gone through it again, and purged it of a few of its many errors[16]. This was March 4. Still no reply. On April 25, Casaubon wrote

[16] Ep. 11: 'Ex mendis fœdissimis quibus totus scatebat.'

again, announcing his being at work on Suetonius, and asking help. The explanation came at last in the course of the summer of '94. It had not been disdain on Scaliger's part, it was simply non-delivery of letters. Casaubon's letters had been so slow in reaching Leyden, that the two first had been delivered together. And Scaliger's reply to the two, though written at once, had been entrusted to Thomson to forward to Geneva, *viâ* England. Scaliger's answer to Casaubon's third he had given to Commelin, the Heidelberg publisher, who had lost it along with a presentation copy of the Cyclometrica. But when the Scaliger letter arrived, Casaubon must have felt that it was worth waiting for. Scaliger, who was contemptuous towards pretenders, and concealed his contempt too little for his own peace, was no niggard of praise for true learning. If he bestowed his praise rarely, it was because he rarely had occasion. He must have understood from Thomson, that Casaubon's dejected temperament and isolated position required encouragement. He gave it in no measured terms. 'Casaubon was not to suppose that his merits were now for the first time revealed to Scaliger. Scaliger's eye had been on him long, and his voice had never been wanting to proclaim them.' From this time till Scaliger's death (1609) their correspondence was uninterrupted. After the first exchange of letters in 1594 its tone becomes that of intimate friendship and sympathy. They never met, yet esteem and sympathy grew up into affection. Scaliger's last letter to Casaubon, dated August 28, 1608, on his narrow escape from drowning in the Seine, is an expression of heartfelt thankfulness for the providential deliverance. Casaubon's entry in his diary, when the news

reaches Paris of Scaliger's death, says, that he has lost 'the guide of his studies, the incomparable friend, the sweet patron of his life.' What other men say to each other as complimentary forms of speech, these two sincerely said of each other in private. Not in his letters, but in his private journal, Scaliger is to Casaubon 'lumen literarum, sæculi nostri lampas, ornamentum unicum Europæ.' In more discriminating style, Scaliger always spoke to his young friends of Casaubon as 'doctissimus.' 'He is the greatest man we have now in greek. There I yield the *pas* to him. I am his pupil; I have a sense of things, but not learning. Casaubon is the most learned man now living. His latin style is excellent; terse, not diffuse, Italian latin. I keep all his letters[17].'

Casaubon always regarded Scaliger as the 'author of his reputation,' 'autorem famæ[18].' Scaliger would have gladly served his fortunes. As early as 1594 he began to sound the feeling in Leyden about getting him invited thither[19]. Theodore Dousa was being educated at Geneva, and served as a channel of communication. Thomson, too, coming fresh from the same place, might report, as Blackburn did of Butler, that Casaubon was not dead but buried. The idea, from whatever cause, was not taken up by the curators of Leyden. Scaliger had not given Casaubon any hint of his attempt to serve him. But Thomson had not been so prudent. And though Casaubon did not venture to hope for such an honour as a call to Leyden, he began, from this time, to be restless, and to seek an opportunity of getting away from Geneva. If

[17] Scaligerana, 2ª. p. 45. [18] Ib. p. 47.

[19] Pithou to Scal. ep. 80.

Leyden was beyond his reach, there remained the choice between Germany and France. In Germany, Strassburg and Tübingen were closed to him by their lutheran orthodoxy. But there was Heidelberg to which he might aspire.

The university of Heidelberg was, at this time, enjoying its golden age, too soon to be exchanged for the miseries of the thirty years' war, in which the Palatinate had so large a share. The elector, Frederick IV, 1592–1610, was himself not without acquirements. Portus could write to him in Greek[18]. Though fond of the vanities and amusements of a court, he took a lively interest in his university. At fourteen he had acted the part of rector, and, when he came to his majority, he continued occasionally to preside at the acts and disputations. He had a pride in collecting eminent men. Toleration indeed was not thought of. A profession of calvinism was required of all who entered. But calvinism, intolerant as it was, was not so narrow, nor had it so cramping an effect on the mind, as the cotemporary lutheranism. At the neighbouring universities, on either side the Rhine, theological disputation was in full vogue. At Strassburg the work of Sturm had been destroyed, in a generation, by the lutheran preachers. At Tübingen all heads were busy with the question of the ubiquity of the body of Christ. At Heidelberg, the principle of liberality was already germinating. Though Pareus' 'Irenicum' did not appear till 1615, it was the expression of a tendency which had been growing up in the university, for the previous twenty-five years. A paternal, but economical, patronage of learning had

[20] Ap. Schelhorn, Vita Camer, p. 195.

created a new interest. Science and learning were drawing to themselves talents, which were elsewhere wasted on theological controversy. Heidelberg could show, at one moment, a list of names which might almost rival that of Leyden, if Scaliger were excepted from the comparison. Pareus, Pacius, Denis Godefroy, Freher, Gruterus, Surets, Obsopæus, Christinann, were among the professors; Sylburg was librarian of the university, Schede (Melissus) of the Palatine library, as yet unplundered of its MSS. treasures.

Nothing could be more in the course of nature than that Casaubon, a calvinist, and the rising greek scholar of his generation, should have been thought of for Heidelberg. We must suppose that Casaubon had thought of it for himself, when his uneasiness at Geneva had risen to a point, which made him catch at a faint hint even of a call to Franequer. In 1596 a place in the faculty of arts at Heidelberg was actually vacant by the death of Pithopæus in January of that year. Casaubon does not stir. The place was filled by Æmilius Portus (son of Casaubon's own teacher), a man much below Casaubon, both in the repute and the reality of learning, and who has earned from Bentley the title of 'homo futilissimus.' And Portus was backed by Casaubon's patron, de Fresne, who had before endeavoured to get him placed at Altdorf. Denis Godefroy, who had formerly taught at Geneva, was called to Heidelberg in 1598 (or according to Hautz in 1600). Yet I find no trace, at this time, either of Casaubon seeking Heidelberg, or of his being sought for it. At a later period [21] a chair was offered him there, but the time was gone by. And he himself knew the attractions of Heidelberg.

[21] 1608. See Ephem. p. 571.

He had visited it twice*, en route to Frankfort, had made acquaintance with the men and manners. It is true, that the salaries at Heidelberg were on the most economical scale. But then they were better than the starvation pay of Geneva; the necessaries of life were far cheaper[22], and there was the Palatine library to set against the absolute dearth of books at Geneva.

One reason why Casaubon did not turn towards Heidelberg may have been that his wishes and hopes were strongly directed towards the French side. Though a native of Geneva, Casaubon was a Frenchman, and always speaks of himself as such. Language, manners, and connection all drew him that way. And about the very time when his dissatisfaction with Geneva began, a prospect was held out to him of removal, on advantageous terms, into France.

His anxiety to get away from Geneva begins to show itself in May 1594, and gradually becomes the dominant feeling. The motive has been variously sought by the biographers, in a constitutional fretfulness of temperament, or in personal disagreement with his colleagues, or with the members of the government of the republic.

This last supposition is founded upon Casaubon's many bitter utterances against the authorities of Geneva. Casaubon had, in his letters, brought so heavy charges of dishonest dealing against his compatriots, that Grotius thought[23] that Rivet, the editor of the letters, would not venture, even in Holland, and in 1636, to print passages which could be so little to the taste of the Genevese ('minus ad Genevalem stoma-

* See note E in Appendix.

[22] Ep. 72.

[23] Grot. Epp. App. ep. 372.

chum'). But the transaction which raised Casaubon's anger was of a date much posterior to his quitting Geneva in 1596. That affair was as follows. When Henri Estienne died in 1598, Madame Casaubon's marriage portion was still unpaid. When Casaubon proceeded to claim it, he found he was only one among a number of creditors, of whom the principal was Nicolas Leclerc, for 400 crowns. A judgment was obtained and the estate of the intestate was ordered to be realised for the settlement of his debts. The widow of Henri had died shortly after her husband. Leclerc obtained only 50 per cent. of his debt, viz. 200 crowns, but he retained ample security for the remaining half. The other creditors likewise got a dividend, on principal and interest. Madame Casaubon and the three other surviving children of Henri claimed the residue. But Casaubon got nothing. His claim was disallowed by the Genevese tribunal on the ground of Robert Estienne's will. This had provided that his printing establishment should never be removed from Geneva under penalty of forfeiture to the State. It was accordingly decided that Casaubon's part of the liquidation could not be removed from the city, but had lapsed to the exchequer. Casaubon speaks of himself as having 'lost 1300 crowns,' but this must be considered an excited statement. He must mean that 1300 crowns was the whole value of the estate of which he lost his share. This is the ground for his passionate denunciations, in his diary and letters, of the Genevese. Swindlers; rascally brigands; humbugging pharisees; diabolical hypocrites, with their mock piety! The intelligence reached him at Paris in the autumn of 1607, and disturbed him so as to distract him for weeks from his books. His equanimity was gone for a time, and his day was en-

croached upon by the necessity of urging his remonstrances at Geneva, or endeavouring to obtain redress by the intervention of the French government.

This grievance, which did not arise till 1607, had then nothing to do with his discontent at Geneva, which began in 1594.

Nor was it mere love of change that instigated his projects of removal. The cause is not obscure. It was the pressure of positive evil. The disadvantages he laboured under at Geneva may be shortly enumerated. An insufficient salary; high prices caused by the blockade on the side of Savoy; the want of books; the want of leisure. A minor evil was the narrow accommodation of his apartments in the college, where his only study looked upon the court, in which the boys of the school disturbed him with their games during play hours. The first of these evils it might be thought was remediable. A small augmentation might have enabled him to exist. But the republic was not only poor, but exhausted. And letters were of small, rather of no, account in Geneva. For the purposes of their academy, they did not want anything so good as Casaubon. If Casaubon was valued at all, it was only because he attracted pupils. Except for this any young regent could do all the teaching required. In Geneva there was no prospect for him in the future, and even the present scanty stipend was not secure. The council that had dismissed Lect might, any day, tell Casaubon that they could pay him no longer. He had exhausted the classical books he had been able to procure; his father-in-law's library was closed against him. But the aid of books was indispensable if he was to produce anything exhaustive of a subject. Above all he sighed for leisure, and to be

set free from the drudgery of teaching. He would gladly have passed the rest of his days at Geneva, were these difficulties removable. But they were not. He must leave. When he moves, it must be into France. Books, leisure, necessaries—these are the conditions. Where can they be found?

In 1594 a proposal was made to him from Montpellier. The conditions were not tempting. Montpellier was almost as poor as Geneva, and the protestants in Languedoc not more secure than those in Geneva. Sarrasin and Bongars dissuade. Casaubon is willing, but refuses in compliance with their advice. De Fresne, however, who had secretly prompted the first offer, continues to press the municipal council at Montpellier, and obtains better terms[24]. In October, 1595, a formal request from the city of Montpellier is made to the council of Geneva, to send them, either on loan or permanently, Simon Goulart and Isaac Casaubon, [25] 'tant pour conserver parmi eux la pure et vraye religion, que pour instruire leur jeunesse és lettres humaines.' The council refuse. The two are 'men who cannot be done

[24] De Fresne was instigating the municipality of Montpellier. But behind de Fresne was de Thou, who was the first person to urge the acquisition of Casaubon for France. See ep. 785: 'Primo tibi venit in mentem traducendum me esse in Galliam.'

[25] Geneva MSS. Reg. du pet. cons. 15 octob. 1595, f°. 183: '... ont esté venues lettres escrites à Mess^rs^. par le Sieur des Fresnes en juin dernier, et autres du 24 de 7^bre^ dernier par les consuls conseil et consistoire de la ville de Montpellier, et de leur mandement, priant les favoriser de tant que de leur accorder lesd. S^r^. Goulard et Casaubon, tant pour conserver parmi eux la pure et vraye religion, que pour instruire leur jeunesse és lettres humaines, a esté arresté qu'on s'en excuse envers eux, par lettres, le plus doucement et honorablement que faire se pourra sur la nécessité de tels personnages.'

without.' But the principals had not been consulted in the transaction. When they are told of it, they are found to be willing to leave. Goulart, after some resistance, at last consents to remain at Geneva[26]. But Casaubon will not. He cannot maintain himself on his Genevan pay. But the council are in earnest. They are aware 'what profit and honour the learning and renown of the sieur Casaubon confer upon Geneva,' they will double his pay for this year, and will do the same year by year. Only this last intention is not to be made public, in order not to rouse the jealousy of the other professors.

But it is now no use. Casaubon wishes to visit his mother; he has long designed a journey to Montpellier to see de Fresne. In short, he is determined to settle in France. He has outgrown Geneva; he is become, as was afterwards said of Madame de Stael: 'trop grand poisson pour notre lac;' he will migrate into more spacious waters.

[26] Geneva MSS. Reg. du pet. cons. 17 octob. 1595, f°. 184: '. . led. Sp. Goulard après quelque difficulté faite a finalement consenti de continuer icy sa charge; mais led. sieur Casaubon s'est tellement excusé sur la nécessité de sa famille, qui s'augmente annuellement, qu'il les a resolus de ne pouvoir plus servir à si petits gages, ayant d'ailleurs des longtemps proposé de faire un voiage aud. Montpellier pour visiter sa mère, prians les d. sp. ministres, que Messeigneurs pésent comme il faut le profit et honeur qu'aporte en ceste ville la doctrine et le renom dud. sieur Casaubon, pour y avoir tel esgard que de raison, a esté arresté qu'on luy augmente ses gages pour ce coup de trois cent florins, et qu'on advise de le gratifier d'an en an de mesme somme, sans néantmoins qu'on le luy die, afin d'éviter toute jalousie des autres professeurs.'

APPENDIX TO 2.

Note A. p. 12.

WHILE every university, almost every school, in Germany has its history, there is no special monograph on the Academy of Geneva. Materials are not wanting. Professor Cellérier has traced an outline only of what might be written: Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire protest. tome 4. M. Crottet has printed a journal of one Merlin, who must have been a student along with Isaac Casaubon. The accounts in the current lives of Calvin are very loose and inexact, e. g. they mostly speak of the 'academy' as distinct from the 'school.' But the statutes —'Leges'—of 1559 call the whole institution 'Academia,' and distinguish the lower section of it as 'gymnasium.' The contemporary writers generally speak of 'the schools,' 'les escholes.' As to the number of the students, the number 1000 has established itself, doubtless permanently, in the modern histories. Henry, Leben Calvin's, 3. 391, 'more than a thousand daily,' followed by Dyer, Life of Calvin, p. 459. The authority for this figure is an anonymous letter, quoted in Sayous, Etudes, 1. 107, 'c'est merveille des auditeurs des leçons de M. Calvin; j'estime qu'ils sont journellement plus de mille.' But these are the congregation who followed Calvin's doctrinal sermons, of which he preached 2025. Stähelin, however, Johannes Calvin, Leben, 1. 494, will have '900 regular students,' 'nicht weniger als neunhundert junge Männer,' a blunder apparently arising from mistranslating Gaberel's 'cent neuf.' Gaberel, 1. 338, gives the number of students exactly, from the 'livre du recteur,' as 109, and distinguishes them from the auditors of Calvin, whom he reckons at 800. The total number of scholars, including the boys in the lower school, was 600 (Leges Academiæ, p. 1). Beza (to Farel. ap. Baum. Leben, etc. 1. 519) says the 'scholastici' at Lausanne, in 1558, were 'nearly 700.' The foreign students formed the larger part of the whole; cf. Doschius, Vita Hotoman.: 'cum propter urbis et

doctorum celebritatem undique confluerent auditores, interque eos e Germania aliquot adolescentes principum filii.' Tossanus, writing to Hotoman, in 1586 (Hotoman. Epp. ep. 143), names, among the German nobles, two Counts Witgenstein, Count Karl von Ortemburg, with his tutor Theodor Clement. Cf. Goldasti, Epp. p. 118. The existence of the academy was still precarious in 1611, and it was occasionally subvented by the reformed churches throughout France. Mém. et Corresp. de Du Plessis-Mornay, 11. 296. sept. 1611 : 'J'ai représenté le mérite de vostre seigneurie, église, et académie ; la nécessité aussi à laquelle tant de misérables affaires avaient reduict vostre ville ; telle que vostre dicte académie, qui en faict une bonne partie, estoit en danger de dépérir s'il n'y estoit d'ailleurs pourveu.'

Note B. p. 22.

The evidence for this fact are three documents printed by M. Th. Dufour, L'Interméd. 3. 81. 1. The minute-book of a notary, Jean Jovenon, preserved at Geneva, has, under date 24 août, 1583, a contract of marriage between 'Spect. Isaac Cazaubon, prof. en grec, fils de Spect. Arnault Casaubon, ministre du saint évangile en l'église refformée de Crest et Verre en Daulphinée d'une part, et honn. fille Marye Prolyot, fille de feu honn. M. Pierre Prolyot, en son vivant maistre chirurgien, et de Dame Jehanne Duret, de la ville de Bourdeaux, habitant à Genève, d'autre (part).' 2. The second document is the Registre des décès, in which the entry is 'Marye, femme de Isac Casaubon, bourgeois, est morte d'une apoplexie, agée d'environ 25 ans, ce 27 may, 1585, au collayge.' 3. The register of baptisms contains the entry of the baptism of their daughter, called Jeanne, after Isaac's mother, 7 jan. 1585.

We must suppose that this daughter, Jeanne, died young, as no mention, that I am aware of, is made of her anywhere in Casaubon's papers. It must have been before 1598, as the daughter born in that year received the name Jeanne. That there should have been no allusion to the first wife would not have been surprising, as we have hardly any memoranda which go back as far as 1585. But it is very probable, as M. Dufour conjectures, that Cas. ep. 3, date August 23, 1585, where he speaks of a great misfortune which has suddenly overtaken him, is to be understood of his wife's death. The words are, 'Dum ille discessum parat, ecce repentina calamitate, ceu fluctu decumano aliquo, ita totus obruor, ut omnem continuo et scribendi et

aliud quidvis agendi curam omitterem. sic factum est, ut ille ad vos sine meis literis rediret; ac nunc quoque quominus pluribus ad te scribam, idem me casus tristissimus impedit.'

Note C. p. 31.

Ephemerides, p. 57. 9 kal. jan. 1597: 'Studium, non sine dolore animi ob internam, et tibi, o Deus, notam caussam. Domine, fateor ita maritam esse meam ut quæ alleviationi et auxilio esse debet, sit interdum studiis nostris impedimento. scis tamen, o Pater, quantam morositatem quo animo feram, dum illud unice vereor, ne semel principium aliquod discordiæ in utriusque mentem penetret.' Ibid, p. 41: 'Tu scis, mi Deus, mei doloris caussam domesticam. vel igitur medere huic incommodo studiorum meorum, si ita placet, o Pater, aut ei ferendo da vires.' Complaints of this sort, besides that they are found only in the earlier pages of the diary, are greatly overbalanced by the far more numerous passages which testify not only to intense affection, but to helpless dependence on Florence's watchful care; e. g. ep. 603, to Cappell: 'Quotidie videtur dolor crescere, nunc utique absente uxore, in qua una ex humanis rebus, curarum mearum est solatium ac levamen.' Eph. p. 131: 'Deum O. M. supplex veneror regat uxorem liberosque meos. non est illa quidem dimidia pars animæ meæ, sed tota quasi anima.'

Note D. p. 38.

Specimens of Damarius' transcription are Brit. Mus. King's MSS. 16 xi. 16 xiv. 16 xviii.

Note E. p. 75.

There were two visits to Germany. The first was in April, 1590. On this occasion Casaubon was at Frankfort and Heidelberg. Ep. 5, to Theodore Canter, was written from Frankfort. A letter to Lipsius (Burmann, Syll. 1. 348) is dated 20 April, o. s. 1590, from the shop of Le Preux, as he is on the point of setting out for Heidelberg. This was the visit on which he must have made the excerpta from the 'Fasti Siculi,' in the Palatine library, spoken of ep. 252, and possibly inspected the Palatine Athenæus, which he afterwards obtained on loan, ep. 229.

The second visit was in Jan. 1593. For this journey he obtained leave of absence from the Council. Geneva MSS. Reg. du pet. cons. 15 decemb. 1592. f°. 242: 'Sr. Isaac Casaubon . . . ayant esté ordonné de luy bailler des gages aultant qu'à ung de la ville, à esté raporté qu'il désire faire ung voyage jusque à Francfort vers M. du Fresne, ayant promis de revenir au service de la Seigneurie, arresté qu'on luy donne congé à ceste condition.' Ded. of Suetonius to Canaye du Fresne, p. 2: 'In Germaniam tuo accitu veni.' I do not find that he went further than Strassburg. Adversaria, tom. 23: 'Itinere meo Germanico.' Ibid.: 'In Aristophane observata, ὁδοῦ *πάρεργα*, Argentinæ, a. d. kal. feb. 1593.'

3.

MONTPELLIER.

1596—1599.

MONTPELLIER[1], during the sovereignty of the kings of Majorca, had been a flourishing *entrepôt* of commerce. Nominally dependent, it had enjoyed real self-government, and, as in the case of the free cities of the empire, this independence had led to wealth. Incorporation with France had begun its decline. It was a decaying town before the wars of religion came, at the close of the 16th century, to desolate Languedoc.

In 1596, the city, though saved by its fortifications from the worst extremities, had lost its commerce in the troubles. Though still the second city in Lan-

[1] On the Academy of Montpellier, I have had recourse to Faucillon, ap. Mémoires de l'académie des sciences de Montpellier, 3. 500; Germain, in Mém. de la Soc. archéologique de Montp. for 1856, p. 247, seq.; Hist. de la Commune de Montpellier, 1851; Academia Monspeliensis a Jacobo Primirosio Monspeliensi et Oxoniensi doctore descripta, Oxon. 1631; Astruc, Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire de la Faculté de médecine à Montpellier, Paris, 1867. A paper in Mém. de l'Acad. d. Sciences de Montp. 1872, tome 5, p. 207, seq. by M. Germain, with the promising title, 'Isaac Casaubon à Montpellier,' is compiled only from printed sources, and adds nothing to our information.

guedoc, its treasury was empty, and in the general depreciation of property it could scarcely support the weight of the general taxation. The university, having no independent endowments, was sharing the depression of the town. The university was an old foundation, its medical school having existed long before it received a charter by papal bull 1289. It rose upon the ruins of Cordova, destroyed by catholic fanaticism, to be the first medical school out of Italy. Padua—where our Harvey was now (1598) following the lectures of Fabricius ab Acquapendente, had, for a century, held the first place. But the flourishing period of Montpellier was now over. Its throngs of students had disappeared, and the six regius readers of physic alone represented the numerous readers and demonstrators of anatomy, whom the fees of the students had once sufficed to maintain. Yet the spirit of better days was not wholly lost in these years of distress. The school of Montpellier was not saved by its endowments. The salary of the royal readers remained at its old figure, 50 livres—a mere nominal stipend, even if it had been regularly paid. It was saved by the tradition of science. Thirty years, a whole generation, of religious war, had not extinguished this tradition in the medical school. As soon as the breathing time came, after the accession of Henri IV, the old habits and usages revived of themselves. The salaries of the professors were raised, by royal ordinance, and the strict requirements which had contributed to the former celebrity of the school were spontaneously restored. These were principally four.

The examinations for the degree of M.D. were more severe than anywhere else, not only in France, but in Europe, more severe even than Padua. First and

last, sixteen of them had to be passed before the doctor's hood could be assumed. Numbers of students would come to follow the lectures at Montpellier, and go away to get the degree at other universities, where it could be had on easier terms.

The old practice of disputation was adhered to as the form in which the exercises for degrees were chiefly exacted, instead of the more convenient and otiose practice of written thesis. Disputations were going on most days in the week, so often, indeed, as to leave scant time for lectures. In the course of a year there was scarce any medical theorem but would be debated in public, 'to the great profit of the students.'

The professorial chairs were awarded by competition. An instance is recorded in which this was carried to an unreasonable excess, when eleven candidates disputed a chair for thirteen months, each maintaining twelve theses.

Lastly, besides the six salaried, or royal, readers the old custom was not wholly disused that any doctor of medicine might teach.

The consequence of this revival was, in a very few years, the recovery of the celebrity of the school. A throng of medical pupils from all nations was to be found there. Dr. Primrose, who studied at Montpellier in the early part of the 17th century, found there Spaniards, Germans, Poles, Danes, Swedes, Swiss, and Scotch, besides the French students. He himself was the only Englishman: though born and educated in France, he was the son of Dr. Primrose, canon of Windsor. From his notes the above account has been chiefly derived.

The faculty of law was wholly provincial, and as

there was another faculty in exercise at Toulouse, it could at best divide the province of Languedoc with its rival. But the law schools, both of Toulouse and Montpellier, had been reduced to the lowest condition during the troubles. The rector of the university of Toulouse, in July 1598, complains of the decay of the school: declares that it cannot subsist much longer: that the youth of Languedoc will have to be sent to other universities to get that legal training which they cannot find at home: and reminds his audience that Cujas and Grégoire would neither of them stay to teach in their native town, because of the miserable poverty of the stipends[2]. The school of Montpellier was in no better condition. It had indeed four royal or salaried regents of civil law. But during the catholic reaction civil law was out of favour; the salary was insignificant, and not made up by pupils' fees. We are not surprised to hear that in 1590 there were only two of these four readers remaining, and these threatening to resign unless something were done for them.

The lowest place was held by the faculty of arts. There had, indeed, from ancient times existed a school of arts which was elevated into a faculty in the 15th century. But while the medical and law faculties enjoyed, each of them separately and independently of the other, the title of a 'university,' and were governed by their own statutes, the faculty of arts was only known as the 'École-mage' (majeure). It

[2] Mége, Hist. de Languedoc, 4. 625. Malenfont, in 1617 (in Cousin, Fragm. Philos. 3. 79) reckons the number of persons who spoke latin in Toulouse at 6000. But far the larger part of these must have been monks and other ecclesiastics. Richeome, Expost. Apol. p. 54, says that the number of students at Toulouse had sunk to 300.

was not till a much later time (1723) that the three faculties were incorporated into one university. During the civil wars, the école-mage ceased to function. The building in which it was held became a ruin, and the commune was unable to pay the salary even of a single regent. As soon as there began to be a prospect of a settled government in the province, one of the first cares of the consuls of Montpellier was the restoration of their school. In 1594 they obtained a royal ordinance for restoring the cival law readers, and augmenting their stipends to 300 livres. Two new professors were chosen by public competition, and the faculty of law entered upon a new and brilliant period. It only remained to place the school of arts on a level with the two superior faculties. The appointment of the regent in this school was in the hands of the consuls. For Montpellier, having become almost entirely calvinist, had *chassé* its bishop, who had hitherto exercised the function of chancellor of the university. And though the parlement of Languedoc, sitting at Toulouse, had arrogated to itself a right of interference in the affairs of the university, it was not able to enforce its claim upon a protestant population protected by their walls. The constant intercourse between the church of Montpellier and that of Geneva might have naturally led the consuls to fix their eyes upon Casaubon; but they were besides prompted by de Fresne, who was bent upon getting Casaubon into France. De Fresne, who was located at Castres, worked through Ranchin. William Ranchin was of an old legal family at Montpellier. He had succeeded his father in one of the regius readerships of law, an office which he continued to hold after he was transferred (1601) to the 'chambre de l'édit,' performing

the duties of reader by deputy. He was a man of reputation and weight, and is spoken of by Casaubon as 'doctissimus,' and that in the private diary. In 1594, though only 34 years of age, he was chosen first consul of his native town, as his father had been before him, and his brother became after him.

In that year (1594), and through Ranchin, came the first proposal to Casaubon. The conditions are not stated, but they were such that Casaubon rejected them at once, not without expressing some surprise that de Fresne, so much his friend, should have sanctioned such an offer. We may conjecture that it was the precariousness of the position that deterred Casaubon. For the regents in medicine and law had a salary secured by patent, partly upon the revenues of the university, and partly upon the general taxes of Languedoc. Of the 300 livres—the amount of the annual stipend—a sixth part was charged upon the university revenues, which consisted wholly in fees, and was payable by the faculty; the remainder was secured on the gabelle, and was payable by the officers of the revenue. Small as the stipend was, it was at any rate a certainty. But the faculty of arts had no such resources; indeed the faculty had no existence; for there were not only no regents, but no graduates. It was necessary to recreate the faculty, and to place its professor upon the same permanent footing as those in the superior faculties. A fresh application was made to the government of Henri IV. Notwithstanding the frightful anarchy of the whole realm, the embarrassment of the finances, and the foreign invasion on the northern frontier, the application was immediately met. The restoration of the decayed educational establishments was a primary object

with the council of state. At this very time a commission was engaged in reforming the statutes of the university of Paris. July 9, 1596, letters patent were issued, providing for the restoration of the college which used to be at Montpellier. The patent sets out the general views of the government for the restoration of schools, and proceeds; 'seeing that our city of Montpellier is the second city of our province of Languedoc, that it hath in its neighbourhood several other towns, boroughs, and villages, in the which a number of young persons, from want of a college, occupy their time in unprofitable courses to the damage of our state; and further seeing that there arrive and abide in the aforesaid city many learned and sufficient personages, who continue of no use to the public and without occupation, we ordain and enjoin, etc.' The patent goes on to direct the consuls of Montpellier to restore the school of arts, and to provide it with a sufficient number of regents for instruction in the liberal arts, humane letters, and the greek and latin languages, [3] 'in such sort as to render youth capable of learning the other sciences.' The cost may be charged on the gabelle, and an additional tax of 12 deniers on each quintal of salt is specially affected to this service.

On the strength of this appropriation of funds, the town-council of Montpellier proceeded to appoint a delegacy of eight persons (octumviri) to prepare a scheme for the college of Arts. As the school was to be mixed, the commission was 'mipartie,' four protestants, and four catholics, one of the calvinist

[3] The letters patent are printed in Mém. de la Société archéologique de Montp. 1. 276. The deed of appointment of March 12, 1597, is printed in appendix, note A, from the original in Burney MSS. 367. 127.

ministers, Gigord, being a member of it, but no catholic ecclesiastic. This commission having now an authorised position to offer, soon concluded an arrangement with Casaubon. He was to have the titles of 'conseiller du roi,' and [4] 'professeur stipendié aux langues et bonnes lettres.' The 'stipendié,' though in writing to Scaliger[5] Casaubon omits it, signals his position as of the same rank with the medical and law readers. He was to have 266 écus, in money, with lodging, fuel, and some other small perquisites in kind. The 266 écus were, twelve months later, raised to 1000 livres, nearly £100 stirling. 'Honestissimæ conditiones,' Casaubon calls these terms, implying that they were very respectable, but not brilliant. They were at least a great improvement upon Geneva. And he was besides promised that he would find at Montpellier no lack of lovers of classical letters, who were longing for the arrival of a teacher, and who would welcome him with open arms. Behind these positive advantages, there was a secret suggestion which came from de Fresne, and which probably worked more powerfully than all the rest, a suggestion of further promotion in the distance. What the promotion might be, or what must be its indispensable condition, were considerations too remote for immediate computation. The libraries and book-resources of Paris were all that Casaubon saw on the distant horizon.

He was allowed to depart from Geneva, where he

[4] So the letters patent. This proves Casaubon's exactitude in writing to Scal. ep. 117, where he calls his professorship 'linguarum et humaniorum literarum professio.'

[5] Ep. 117.

had represented classical learning as it never was represented there before or since, without any effort to detain him, without any recognition of his services. Goulart indeed wrote to Scaliger that [6] 'notre escole est maigre, surtout depuis le départ de Monsr. Casaubon, fort respecté en Languedoc.' But Goulart was an exception. The public opinion of Geneva, which did not care to retain him, charged love of money as his motive. 'He wanted to raise his price upon his native city, which would show him that it could do without him.' Casaubon's aimable heart consented to ascribe these sneers only to the excess of the love his friends bore him, making them unjust to him. [7] 'What have I not tried,' he writes, 'to be allowed to be here! God is my witness that I have sought nothing more than such a small increase, as should allow me to give all my mind to my studies, by setting me free from anxiety about the means of life. Wealth I have not desired; but it was high time that I should at last make some provision for myself, my wife, and children, a provision which is denied me here.'

On September 23, 1596, he closed with the Montpellier offer. On November 20 he obtained his *congé* from the Genevan council. At Lyons he took boat down the river, and arrived at Montpellier on the last day of the year.

Casaubon's entry into Montpellier was a triumphant procession. A mile beyond the gates he was met by a *cortège* composed of his own friends, of the regents of the faculties, and at their head more than one of the consuls of the year,—though not the first consul.

[6] Ep. franç. p. 265.

[7] Cas. epp. 109 and 115.

A few months later, when the bishop made his entry, none of the regents would join the procession, not, as they said, on account of religion, but because they would not yield the precedence claimed by the juge-mage. Casaubon's welcome was unanimous. He was conducted by this troop of honour to the abode prepared for him. Several days were spent in receiving the calls of ceremony or friendship. But he was less impatient of this sacrifice of time, as it seemed to him, because his books, which were to follow him by water from Lyons, had not yet arrived. Seventy years later, Edward Browne, son of Sir Thomas, described the population of Montpellier as prepossessing in their manner towards strangers. He writes (1664)[8], 'This place is the most delightful of all France, being seated upon a hill in sight of the sea, inhabited by a people the most handsome in the world; the meanest of them going neatly drest every day, and their carriage so free, that the merest stranger hath acquaintance with those of the best rank of the town immediately.' In 1597, just emerging from the passions and the sufferings of a religious war, there may well have been less civility. Yet we find a hint in Casaubon's letters that he felt he was no longer in the rigid atmosphere of Geneva. Though he declares[9] that 'this church is indeed flourishing in piety and good works if any is so in France,' yet he writes to Beza, 'My wife, I assure you, arranges her life in such a way that all may easily see that she was

[8] Ap. Sir Thos. Browne, Works, 1. 70. The reader of Rabelais will recall Pantagruel's experience of Montpellier, Pantag. 2. 5: 'Ou il trouva fort bons vins de Mirevaulx, et joyeuse compagnie.'

[9] Ep. 134.

born at Geneva, and brought up in the church there. [10] The style of living is very different here.'

What gratifies him more than the attentions paid him, is the discovery that the city furnished no small number of men with a taste for classical letters. True, civil disorder and religious exaltation had been unfavourable to study, and the standard of attainment might not be generally high. But the professional study of medicine and law was not then pursued in the technical spirit in which it is now. The study of medicine included the reading of Hippocrates and Galen, in a latin version, even if not in the original greek. Where a civil lawyer is, there the traditions of the Roman empire can never be wholly extinguished. In the question which divided the legal profession at this time, viz. whether a lawyer should be liberally or professionally educated, the bar at Montpellier was on the side of liberality as against the Bartholists. At Geneva, what zeal there was was all theological. Beza had not ceased to value classics, but had ceased to read them. The Genevese had let Pacius and Hotoman go, and Lect, having no pupils and no salary any longer, had gone in for council business. At Montpellier, Casaubon is delighted to find not only a number of students desirous to learn, but public officers, civil servants, practising lawyers, [11] 'taking an interest in our literature.' [12] 'Here we have to do not with boys, no, not with youths, but with men of mature age.' There is no allusion to the clerical order as furnishing aspirants of classical studies. The catholic clergy were engaged in a struggle for existence, the bishop being altogether excluded from

[10] Ep. 114: 'Nam hic quidem aliter vivitur.'

[11] Ep. 111: 'Nostrarum literarum percupidi.'

[12] Ep. 123.

the town, and they being allowed only one church, 'la canourge,' for the catholic culte[13]. When the bishop did succeed in edging himself into the city, in November of this year, and before he was formally restored by the Edict of Nantes, he was on terms of civility with Casaubon. Guitard de Ratte was not altogether without a taste for letters, and had books dedicated to him, but by men of a bad stamp, e. g. Theodorus Marcilius, and John a Wouveren. The calvinist ministers of Montpellier, however respectable for their piety, had as little taste for secular learning as those of Geneva. Jean Gigord was the principal pastor, and is called by Casaubon [14] 'a genuine theologian.' He lectured on theology in the calvinist provincial seminary. And the synod of Languedoc, which had met at Montpellier in the preceding August, had voted him a small sum for the formation of a library[15]. But the books were theological. Gigord was also one of the eight members of the board of studies. But he was there to represent the church, not learning. It would have been thought an impropriety in a minister of the reformed churches to have been known to devote any part of his time to secular studies. His attitude towards them differed from that of the catholic priest, secular or regular. The priest of this generation feared and hated learning. The reformed minister approved it for others, as education, as discipline, but would have been ashamed to

[13] Mém. de l'Acad. des Sciences de Montp. 3.

[14] '*γνήσιος* theologus,' Ephem. p. 130.

[15] Gigord writes to Casaubon to lay out part of this money for him at Geneva. Burney MSS. 376. p. 125: 'Je vous prie sur tout de me faire recouvrer les livres, desquels vous verrez le rolle et aviser au prix.' Even the ordinary theological books were not to be got at Montpellier.

have owned to it himself. In the course of the next century the tide began to turn; the education of the French priest improved, that of the average pastor deteriorated. To this contrast certainly eminent exceptions can be at once quoted. Even in Casaubon's time, 1597, the other ministers at Montpellier were of a grade of intellect below Gigord. Casaubon tells us[16] of a young minister, he does not name him, who inveighed in his sermon against the practice of those preachers, who uncovered the head whenever they had occasion to mention the divine name. On coming out of church, Casaubon ventured to tell the youth that this was the practice of all the reformed churches in Germany and Switzerland; to which the young zealot replied that 'he anathematised all those churches.' 'He was one of those,' observes Casaubon, 'who believe themselves gifted with all wisdom and all knowledge to begin with.' Such men of the true puritan stamp, divinely enlightened, contemners of human learning, might be found among the ministers of that day. But the management of the reformed churches was in better hands. Literature was respected. But the respect paid it was made up mainly of a sense of its utility in controversy, in a less degree of a perception, never wholly wanting, of its intrinsic worth. Casaubon, though not an official deputy, was invited to be present, as 'amicus curiæ,' at the national synod held at Montpellier in August, 1598. The ministers patronised or tolerated him. He did not even assume to be on equal terms. He writes in 1597 to the synod of Sauve, excusing himself from attending on account of illness, but begging the 'fathers' to direct his humble services

[16] Ephem. pp. 120. 113.

to the benefit of the church, and assuring them that it was his particular wish to be of use to the students of theology, i.e. in the calvinist seminary at Montpellier[17]. He once went so far as to say[18]—but this was to Beza—after proposing his own interpretation of Matth. 28. 17, 'but be assured that I shall finally acquiesce in that meaning which you shall decide to be the true meaning.'

That the friends found at Montpellier were numerous, is evident from the diary, where their visits are recorded, and lamented. But the names are seldom given. Only three recur often for mention: W. Ranchin, already spoken of; Sarrasin, a medical professor, who published Dioscorides in 1598; and Canaye de Fresne, who lived not at Montpellier, but at Carcassonne. To him Casaubon paid his first visit, through the storms and snows of January, and took his advice as to the character he should impress upon his teaching.

It was on his return from this visit to de Fresne that he began the 'Ephemerides.' On his 38th birthday, being February 18 (=8), 1597, he resolved, as many literary men have resolved, to keep a diary. But he continued to keep it with the same perseverance which he carried into everything, daily, till within a fortnight of his death in 1614. It is literally 'nulla dies sine linea.' I recollect but one other example of such regularity, that of Joseph Priestley, who began to keep a diary of his studies, æt. 22, and continued it till within three or four days of his death, æt. 71. Casaubon never omitted in his many illnesses, hardly on his various journeys, a single day. When he travels, the current volume accompanies him upon the sumpter-horse,

[17] Ep. 136. [18] Ep. 131.

and he makes a note, however brief, of the spent day, in ink, which he takes also with him. On one occasion, having left it behind him, when he went out of Paris for the night, his wife makes the entry in his stead: '23 fév. 1601 : ce jour dit M. Casaubon a esté absent, que Dieu garde, et moi, et les nostres avec lui, Amen.' The daughter of Henri Estienne had forgotten the latin once so familiar in her father's house, and she makes her entry in the vernacular[19]. Casaubon himself employs uniformly latin, but thickly interspersed with greek words, even occasionally with greek sentences. He could express himself with almost equal facility in the one language as in the other. He was once asked by a Greek, who professed to be a descendant of Lascaris, to turn a petition for him from latin into greek. He did it at once, off hand[20]. He never required a lexicon[21]. Cardinal Du Perron, the earliest French pulpit orator, said of him, [22] 'When Casaubon talks french, he talks like a peasant; but when latin, he speaks it like his mother tongue. He has neglected the one, and thrown all his mind into the other.' The latin of Casaubon in his diary, and his letters, is the latin of a master of the language in its resources and its idiom. But it is wanting in character, and though far above the vapid theme-latin of the Ciceronian imitators, it has not the verve and pungency of Scaliger's style.

[19] Isaac's letters to Mad[e]. Casaubon are always in french. On one occasion she opened a letter from her son John, which arrived in Isaac's absence, and could not read it because it was in latin. Ep. 757 : 'Quas illa pro suo jure aperuerat, sed, quia latine erant scriptæ, parum intellexerat.'

[20] Eph. p. 228.

[21] Scaligerana 2[a]. p. 45.

[22] Perroniana, p. 128.

The Ephemerides extend from February 18, 1597, to June 16, 1614. On July 1, 1614, Casaubon died. A journal so regular is rarely written, and, when written, is too often lost to history through the jealousy or weakness of relatives or executors. In Priestley's case the diary shared the fate of all his collections, and became the victim of the savages of one of our great cities. We owe the preservation of this precious record of the seventeenth century to the piety of Mad[e]. Casaubon and her son Meric. Meric, who was prebend of Canterbury, deposited, before his death in 1671, in the chapter library of that cathedral, the six fasciculi which he had inherited. For of seven volumes which Isaac had written, one, the fourth, containing the entries of three years and six months, viz. from January 1, 1604, to July 21, 1607, was lost, at what period is not known[23]. The MS. had been consulted where it was deposited by various persons. Batteley, archdeacon and prebend of Canterbury, supplied a copy of the material parts of the Ephemerides to Janssen Van Almeloveen, who used them in writing the 'Vita Casauboni,' which he prefixed to his magnificent edition of the letters. At last, Dr. Russell, another prebend of Canterbury, transcribed the whole MS. and prevailed upon the managers of the Clarendon press to print it, in the year 1850. The faithful accuracy of an editor

[23] Adversaria, tom. 22, has an entry written by James Casaubon at Meric's dictation, Jan. 9, 1639: 'Ephemerides ab anno vitæ 39 incipiente, qui erat a Christo 1597, sunt omnino sex scapi separatim, aut tot saltem penes me sunt, nam deest quartus, qui tempus annorum 4 ab A.D. 1603 usque ad 1607 complectebatur. jam et ante statim a patris obitu desideratum fuisse scapum unum, testis est fratris Joannis epistola super ea re ad me scripta matris nomine, haud multo post adventum meum Oxoniam.'

who religiously gave every word of his MS, where there was so much temptation to excerpt, deserves commemoration. In other respects, Dr. Russell fulfilled none of the duties of editor. He did not explain one of the many difficulties, or clear up a single obscurity in the names mentioned, or the facts alluded to, by the diarist. He did far less for Casaubon's memory than Almeloveen, the Dutch editor of the letters, had done 150 years before.

No form of autobiography is calculated to be more popular than a private journal. But the interest of Casaubon's Ephemerides suffers a heavy abatement from three causes. First, it is written in latin; secondly, it does not concern itself with events of public interest; and lastly, it is surcharged with the language of devotion.

A scholar's life is seldom one of incident, and his annals can have little else to tell than what he reads and writes. Casaubon records what he read day by day, but does not mix remarks of his own upon it. These were reserved for the margins, or blank leaves, of his books, or thrown upon loose sheets of paper without order. Sixty volumes of such Adversaria are still kept in existence, which have been made by binding these sheets together. In a few instances he has extracted into the Ephemerides a passage which struck him, and which he wished to dwell upon, sometimes in greek, occasionally a hebrew text. Such extracts have mostly a devout, not a philological, purpose. He does not, like Fynes Clinton, record how many pages, but how many hours, he read. Besides this timekeeping of the daily task, the journal notices, but with great brevity, and as secondary matter, his family affairs, visits, journeys, letters, conversations, descending even to his expenditure,—

all indicated with the brevity of a time-saving man, so that an 8vo page of print seldom contains less than three days, often a week or more. Public events are little noticed, the chief exception being the Fontainebleau conference, which fills seven pages. The assassination of Henri IV, the most memorable occurrence of the period, scarcely takes a page, and that contains no particulars, but is a commonplace lament and prayer on the occasion. His wife's confinement takes two pages, but with the same proportion of prayer and thanksgiving. Of the whole diary it may be computed that no less than one third is occupied with these litanies. That such pious aspirations should continually ascend to heaven, from the devout soul of Casaubon, can be no matter of regret. But it must be permitted us to wish that he had not thought it necessary to write them down, and so fill his pages with mere repetition, to the exclusion of more interesting matters. One observation may be made on the outpourings of prayer and praise. They attest the pure and simple-minded character of the man. Here is no taint of cant; not the faintest suggestion of that unsoundness or insincerity, which seldom fails to attend the public parade of the language of devotion. We feel that we have surprised Casaubon on his knees alone in his closet. He does not write so, not even in his most familiar letters; he did not talk so in his ordinary conversation. Nothing but a heart overflowing with religious feeling could have prompted a passionate student, so jealous of his moments, to write and rewrite the refrain of the same ejaculation.

If we are tempted to turn away from Casaubon's journal in disappointment at its barrenness of events, we must remember that it was undertaken by him with

one special object in view. It was not written, like the cotemporary 'Registre-journal' of Pierre Lestoile, for the instruction of posterity; not even of his own family. Casaubon had no autobiographical purpose in view. He thus states his own motive in opening the diary. [24] 'The expenditure of time being the most costly of all those we make, and considering the truth of what is said by the latin stoic that "there is one reputable kind of avarice, viz. to be avaricious of our time," I have this day resolved to begin this record of my time, in order that I may have by me an account of my spending so precious a commodity. Thus, when I look back, if any of it hath been well laid out, I may rejoice and give almighty God thanks for his grace; if again any of it hath been idle or illspent, I may be aware thereof, and know my fault or misfortune therein.' This purpose of noting how the time goes, is the paramount purpose of the Ephemerides. If we find them more barren of events than we could wish, we must call to mind that they were not destined to be a record of events, but a register of time. Casaubon anxiously compares the hours spent in his study with those bestowed on any other occupation. Unless the first greatly preponderate, he is unhappy. When the claims of business or society have taken up any considerable part of a day, his outcries are those of a man who is being robbed. When he has read continuously a whole day, from early morning till late at night, 'noctem addens operi,' he enters a satisfactory 'to-day, I have truly lived,' 'hodie vixi.' Taking some entries of the first period, we have such as the following:—

'To-day I began my work very early in the morning,

[24] Ephem. p. 1.

notwithstanding my having kept it up last night till very late.'

'Nearly the whole morning, and quite all the afternoon perished, through writing letters. Oh! heavy loss, more lamentable than loss of money!'

'To-day I got six hours for study. When shall I get my whole day? Whenever, O my Father, it shall be thy will!'

'This morning not to my books till 7 o'clock or after; alas me! and after that the whole morning lost; nay, the whole day. O God of my salvation, aid my studies, without which life is to me not life.'

'This morning, reading, but not without interruption. After dinner, however, as if they had conspired the destruction of my studies, friends came and broke them off.'

'This morning a good spell of study. After dinner friends, and trifling talk, but very bothering; at last got back to my books.'

'To-day, though far from well, got eight hours for my books.'

Such is the general character of the entries during the first period. The simple 'studuimus et viximus' is the short expression of the feeling of this time.

The sociable disposition of the people of Montpellier caused him grievous trials. Morning visiting was the mode of the place; not calls of ceremony, but 'dropping in' to have a chat. Casaubon was liked for himself, as well as respected for his learning. He, too, could talk, though his french were french of Geneva. Serious talk with well-informed persons he does not regard as time ill spent. For a tête-à-tête with Ranchin or de Fresne, with Sarrasin or de Serres, persons more or less behind the scenes of the public drama; to lament

the gloomy prospects of the reformed churches, the backsliding of Henri IV, the rapid strides of the jesuits, to hear of the last new conversion at court,—for this he is ever ready. Nor was he altogether insensible to the allurements of ordinary companionship. He is not unwilling to gossip with the gossips. But these Montpellier neighbours know no seasons. They come at all hours, they stay, unconscious of the lapse of minutes. Casaubon sits there fretting, watching the clock, wishing them gone, with his thoughts on that [25]'last wretched page' of his animadversions on Athenæus, still unwritten. Oh! 'the friends, how little friendly!'—amici quam parum amici—who come between him and his books. Is it suggested he might shut them out? How is he to shut them out, when he has only two rooms, an inner and an outer, a sitting-room and a bedroom? All his study has to be done in the one room in which the family live. What a power of abstraction must be required even to follow a book, and how entirely must be wanting 'the blessings of contemplation in that sweet solitariness, which collecteth the mind, as shutting the eyes does the sight!' (Bacon). His resource against the plague of friends is to take the early morning, and the late night, hours. But I can find no authority for the statement of the biographers, that he bathed his eyes with vinegar to keep them open. The 'légende erudite' has done little to embellish Casaubon's life, for this is almost the only exception[26]. He has no space to set out his

[25] Ephem. p. 69: 'Illa pagina misella.'

[26] I find no other authority for this than the latin life of Van Almeloveen, p. 73: '*Aiunt* Casaubonum, ne concubia nocte somno corriperetur, oculis infudisse acetum.' Almeloveen gives us himself the source from which he drew the statement, and the means of

books on shelves. In time he gets into a more roomy abode, but the repeated removals have introduced chaos into his books and papers. The time lost in searching for a missing volume is so grievous, that it is matter of entry in the diary, with thanksgiving when found[27]. We cannot wonder that in such a ménage Florence Casaubon should sometimes lose her good temper, wish that her husband could find a little time to attend to his affairs, or even hint that he might be a little more companionable. This was the severest of all his trials. For even in his new house, where he had a private study up-stairs, Mad[e]. Casaubon was not to be excluded[28]. So tender is Casaubon's feeling, that even in his private diary he does not name her when he alludes to [29]'this domestic hindrance to my studies.' A true and loving helpmeet she was to him, as he always confesses, and on the whole really promoted his studious abstraction, by relieving him of all household cares. When she is away from him he is helpless in these matters as a child. [30]'Deliver me, my heavenly Father, from these miseries, which the absence of my wife, and the management of my household, create for me. Not being used to keep our accounts, I am perfectly aghast when I see the expenditure of this family.'

refuting it. He quotes 'Moyse Amyraut, Morale chrétienne.' But what Amyraut says is, not that Casaubon used vinegar, but that some one, unnamed, who wished, like Casaubon, to study through the night, bathed his eyes with vinegar. 'Celuy qui, pour imiter Casaubon, qui estudioit la plus grande partie de la nuit, se mettoit du vinaigre dans les yeux pour en chasser le sommeil, monstroit bien qu'il avoit de la génerosité, et une grande affection pour les lettres.'

[27] Ephem. p. 82.

[28] Ephem. p. 18: 'Inter turbas domesticas lectio aliquot horarum.'

[29] Ephem. p. 42.

[30] Ephem. p. 998.

It might have been better if she had disturbed him oftener. His life might have been prolonged some years, if she had more often routed him from his desk, and driven him into the air. For in these years he was laying the seeds of disease, and preparing his early grave. He had timely warning of his fate. Serious attacks, not once, but repeated, prostrated him in 1597 and '98, of relaxation of, and discharge from, the mucous lining of the air passages. These attacks were attended with violent fever, and had for sequel a languor of body and mind, which occasioned a further wrench, when he dragged himself back to work in spite of it. They were the first of a series, which harassed him all the remainder of his life—the beginning of the end.

This presentiment—that his space of life would be curtailed—haunted him already, and served to augment the fever of work which consumed him. He doles out his hours as one who knows they are counted, yet he is but thirty-seven. Six a.m. was a late hour for him to enter his study; 5 a.m. is more usual. He is not rarely later. 'Mane diei melior pars,' was his maxim. Like all persons of weak constitution, his working powers were freshest in the morning, and flagged as the day went on. But hours, which seem to us incredibly early, were the rule in the schools of France. Henri de Mesmes describes himself as going to school at 5 a.m., [31] 'with our big books under our arms, our portfolios and lanterns in our hands.'

[31] Mém. de Henri de Mesmes, ap. Rollin, Traité des études, i: 'Nous étions debout à quatre heures, et ayant prié Dieu, allions à cinq heures aux estudes, nos gros livres sous le bras, nos escritoires et nos chandeliers à la main.' This was at Toulouse, in 1545. Even in Paris, where hours were later, 6 a.m. was the hour for the greek class in the jesuit college of Clermont.

On reaching his study, his first act is one of devotion on his knees. Unless specially busied otherwise, he takes the first half-hour for religious reading, often of the hebrew scriptures. Then the author he has in hand occupies him till the dinner hour. This was in schools, universities, and burgher life, generally at 10 a.m. The court dined late, at 12, or even as late as 1 on hunting days. After dinner, he spends some hours in preparing for his lecture, which was at 4 p.m. An hour, four days per week, is his prescribed duty. But after the end of the first nine months, he adds, as a voluntary, a greek elementary class. After lecture, friends, supper, and then to books again, if friends will only go away in good time. Saturday was given up to the disputations; Wednesday was a holiday. The usual holiday in the schools and universities was Thursday. In the medical school of Montpellier, exceptionally, the day was Wednesday, dies Mercurii, there styled 'jour d'Hippocrate,' and the other faculties conformed to the practice of the leading faculty. On Sundays, an attendance on two sermons was expected by public opinion, and sanctioned by custom, though it was not a statutable duty. This was the case also with the Wednesday morning sermon, to which the boys in the lower school were taken by their regents, and catechised afterwards. When Gigord or de Serres was the preacher, Casaubon would not find it so hard to quit Chrysostom or Basil, at 8 and at 12 (these were the hours), but on ordinary days an hour's discourse must have been a heavy burden, when the pastors were such as he describes. [32] 'One, very aged, and hence, without his own fault, lethargic, the other a mere youth, quite unequal to the post of first pastor in such a large congregation.' Heylin,

[32] Ep. 174.

writing in 1625, says of the reformed preachers: [33] 'Their sermons are very plain and home-spun, little in them of the fathers, and less of human learning, it being concluded in the synod of Gappe that only the scriptures should be used in their pulpits. They consist much of exhortation and use, and of nothing in a manner which concerneth knowledge; a ready way to raise up and edify the will and affection, but withal to starve the understanding.'

Though Sunday is a public holiday, Casaubon does not allow himself one. He marks it by reading some theological book, often one of the fathers. But after a spell of this reading, he turns to his task of every day. This, too, is his day for writing letters. The Scotch 'sabbath' was unknown to the French reformed churches of the 16th century, as it was to the catholics. The faculties kept holiday, but the disputations of the surgeons and apothecaries, both at Montpellier and Lyons, were held on the Sunday. Sometimes, but very sparingly, he takes a walk beyond the walls on a holiday to visit a friend's country villa, or down to the sea, to look at the ruins of Maguelonne. There are three regular vacations in the year of three or four weeks each—at Christmas, at Easter, and in July-August. In these he makes his more distant visits. His first was to de Fresne; the summer vacation of 1597 he devotes to a visit to his mother at Die (dep. Drôme). The summer of 1598 affords a much longer excursion to Lyons and Paris, after which he is surprised to find how improved his health is. In November, 1598, but after he had ceased to act as professor, he goes again to stay with de Fresne, who is now established at Castres, (dep. Tarn,) as protestant president of the

[33] Heylin, Travels, p. 120.

chambre mipartie of Languedoc. He spares an occasional hour to be present at the medical disputations, or at a dissection. Once he goes to the disputations of the surgeons. Nor does he quit Montpellier without having witnessed the sight of the place—the manufacture of the popular electuary, kermès, which, says the German Sincerus, [34] 'no one should quit Montpellier without going to see.' He was appointed rector of the faculty of arts, for the scholar year 1597; held the office again for a short time in 1599 in the absence of the rector, and found it greatly troublesome and time-devouring.

When rector or not, no one at Montpellier was likely to interfere with his choice of subjects of lecture. This choice was guided by the fact already mentioned, that his audience consisted largely of men past pupillage. Just about 1597 there was a short reaction against the barbarism produced by the civil war. Men turned again with eagerness to the reopened source of ancient learning. Even in the worst times there had not wanted lovers of good books. The tradition of literature still lingered among the members of the French bar. Toulouse was, perhaps, the most fanatical city in the kingdom, yet in the parlement of Languedoc, now again restored to Toulouse, were not a few men who rose above the political passion of the day. Pierre Du Faur, Sieur de Sanjorry, first president, had a fine collection of books, and had written on law[35]. A catholic, but not a leaguer, he

[34] Jodocus Sincerus, Itinerarium Galliæ, 1627, p. 160: 'Nolim hinc moveas non visa prius electuarii Alkermes confectione.' The alkermes was a popular stomachic electuary, prepared from the kermès, an oak-gall gathered in Languedoc, Spain, and Portugal.

[35] Scaliger[a]. 2[a]. p. 81: 'Ce n'est q'un amasseur, il ne juge rien.'

sent Casaubon a message of civility through de Fresne, to which Casaubon replied by claiming his friendship and patronage, and calling him the Varro of his age. This might pass as a complimentary flourish, were it not confirmed by Scaliger's mention of him as one of France's learned men, though he adds that his books were only compilations, a failing not uncommon among book-collectors. Another member of the same court, and président au mortier in it, Ciron, followed, as collector, the footsteps of his chief. Jacques de Maussac, father of the editor of Harpocration, makes a third learned library at Toulouse. It is impossible that the example of the supreme court should have been without influence on the province. Accordingly, at Montpellier, there was a rush to Casaubon's lecture-room, not only of younger members of the bar, but even of the law professors, and more than one of the presiding judges in the various courts. Men whose heads were grey, president Philip, 'optimus et doctissimus senex;' M. de Massilon, 'vere eruditus et nostras litteras callens,' were occasionally present. If any stranger of distinction passed by Montpellier, one of the amusements provided for him was to hear Casaubon. The hour assigned to Casaubon was the hour of honour, 4 p.m., the latest hour in the academical day, in order to allow this class of professional men the opportunity of attending after their business was over. Grynæus, writing from Bâle, in 1584, says, [36] 'I have been induced by my curators to institute a lecture on history twice a week. It will be at an hour at which the professional and business men can spare a little time

Pierre Du Faur is cited by Grotius, De Jure Belli, 2. 16. 1, as 'eminentissimæ eruditionis Petrus Faber.'

[36] Grynæus, Epp. p. 101.

for the good of their minds, viz. 4 p.m.' Men with these tastes were to be found, but it is not to be supposed that they abounded. The French noblesse, especially the haute noblesse, were, as a body, illiterate, and gloried in being so. The constable Montmorency could not sign his name.

Nor in Italy, where (Rome excepted) culture was more widely diffused, especially in ecclesiastical circles, than in France, were things otherwise. Paolo Gualdo, writing in 1604, apologises for his own tastes, [37] 'I know there are not wanting persons who think these studies ridiculous.' At Rome ambition had not only extinguished learning, but created a hatred of it. Séguier writes to de Thou: 'Anything composed in classical latin is suspected at Rome of impiety.'

The subjects chosen by Casaubon for his lectures during his profession at Montpellier were as follows:—

1. An Account of the administration and officers of the Roman republic. 2. A Synopsis of Roman history. 3. The Laws of the xii Tables. 4. The citations in the Digest from Ulpianus on the subject of dress[38]. 5. Persius. 6. Plautus, Capteivi. 7. The Physician's oath (ὅρκος) of Hippocrates. 8. Aristotle's Ethics.

These were all the subjects of his public lectures, and they seem certainly enough to occupy a year and a half at four days a week, with three months' vacation in the year..

The adaptation of these courses to the audience he found at Montpellier is unmistakable. There is only one of them all, viz. the Plautus, which must have been a purely philological, or language, lecture. And

[37] Vita Pinelli, p. 330.

[38] viz. Digest. lib. 34. tit. 2.

this was the only one which was not chosen by himself, but was taken at the request of his class[39]. In the selection of 1, 2, 3, and 4, the men of the robe, whether lawyers or civil employés, were evidently considered. No. 5, the Persius, was convenient to himself, as having by him notes of his Genevan lectures. But his endeavour was to give to the lecture an ethical cast, as he expressly says in the dedication, and as is still evident in the published book[40]. Though we have not his notes on the Ethics of Aristotle, we cannot doubt that this was also treated in the same practical spirit. 'Abeunt studia in mores' was his principle. The sentiment is continually escaping him that the classics were an instrument of moral training: [41]'I desire to excite myself to the love of virtue and the hatred of vice, and to aid the studious youth in the same endeavour, an object which has been too little regarded by former commentators.'

Having done thus much for the students, the bar, and the public, that the doctors might have their turn, he takes up the Physician's oath of Hippocrates.

These public lectures were in latin; they were also all, or nearly all, on latin texts. The Aristotle's Ethics, as it was meant for edification, must have been a com-

[39] Ephem. p. 64: 'Rogatu eorum quorum studiis prodesse tenemur,' i. e. the students as distinct from the public.

[40] Persii Sat. ed. 1605. ded. to Achille de Harlay. Here Casaubon pursues the theme of the cultivation of the moral nature by the classics, as being their proper use in education.

[41] Even greek grammars were composed with the same view. Chytræus, Regula Stud. 1595. p. 100, recommends the syntax of Posselius, on account of the examples which followed the rules: 'Quæ non modo præceptorum usum monstrant, verum etiam utiles admonitiones de Deo, de gubernatione vitæ, et regendis moribus complectuntur.'

mentary on the *matter*, such that it could be easily followed by those who would not take much interest in questions of interpretation. The term he employs with respect to the Ὅρκος of Hippocrates (interpretari) seems to imply that he made the original the text of his lecture, and some knowledge of greek was still exacted for the degree of M.D. at Montpellier[42]. Towards the end of his time, Casaubon put on a greek lecture—first Homer, then Pindar—but these were extra and voluntary lectures, intended for a younger and special class, and were not part of his public duty.

The freedom with which he mixes long greek citations, and the time he spends on asserting the true meaning of greek words, in his lectures on Persius, show, however, that he addressed an audience to whom greek was not wholly unintelligible, or uninstructing. Yet the fact that latin was the chosen subject of his public lectures, at the very time when his private reading was chiefly greek, is in conformity with all we know of the character of instruction in France at this period.

M. Nisard says[43] that after the definitive triumph of catholicism in France, greek became offensive as the language of heresy. This is perhaps to say too much. But it is certainly true that more strenuous efforts were made at this moment to keep up greek and hebrew in the protestant academies, poor as they were,

[42] The 'Registre des procureurs,' at Montpellier, cited by M. Egger, Hellenisme, 1. 175, has an entry 'Magister Rabelaisius pro suo ordinario elegit librum "Prognosticorum" Hippocratis quem græce interpretatus est.' But it seems clear from Rabelais' own account, that he only referred to the Greek to correct the errors of the Latin version on which he read. Aphorismi Hippocrat. ded.

[43] Lit. Franç. vol. i. p. 431.

than in the catholic and Jesuit colleges and universities. This was certainly from no sympathy on the part of the French reformed with the true mind of classical Greece, which was as much out of their reach as out of the reach of a servile Jesuit. But catholic France felt that affinity for the christian empire and its language, which has always been predominant among the romance nationalities. 'Manners,' says M. Nisard, 'would have effected, in the course of nature, that which religious passion brought about violently. We are the sons of the latins, and the latin genius has always had our preference. We have the practical spirit of Rome, and the roman taste for the universal, which, in our political history, has shown itself in our well-known passion to subdue and regulate everything according to our own pattern.'

Casaubon's habit of intermixing greek words and phrases was not a pedantic affectation, but the natural language of a man, who spent most of the hours of every day in the company of greek books. With all his wonderful command of latin, even for uncommon occasions, the greek phrase would occur first, and he takes it without waiting to think of the latin. Though he wrote out his inaugural, his daily lectures were delivered from notes. These notes were chiefly passages from greek authors, sometimes interpretative of a word, sometimes illustrating and enforcing his author's statement. With these two objects—to interpret the author, or to enforce his statement—he is exclusively occupied. There is no ad captandum rhetoric, no original thought, no flourish of trumpets to awaken the sleepy, or arouse the listless. He does not forget that he is there to teach, not to please. If we ask how lectures which are so unmistakably dull, which

are so thickly sprinkled with greek, which not all could follow, yet came to be popular, the explanation is, that the lecturer did what he proposed to do, and the audience expected no more. He proposed to interpret an author, and the audience went with their books to have the interpretation. When he lectured on Aristotle's Ethics, I conceive his auditors to have followed in the latin version, and that the lecturer referred to the greek which was printed on the same page, in critical passages, and for leading terms. Reading the classics was not a profession confined to experts. The classics were the literature of the educated, and they wanted to be helped to understand that literature. Casaubon, busy on his point, and keeping to it, was just the man for them. The completeness of his knowledge unconsciously impressed even those, who were incompetent to appreciate how complete it was. They felt they were in the hands of a master of the craft. Medicine and law, it was said, they had always had at Montpellier, now at last Casaubon had brought the Muses[44].

Casaubon was too modest to be carried away by this sudden popularity. But he was gratified by tasting general recognition, and pleased to be able to announce to his patron de Fresne that his experiment had been so successful, and to let his friends at Geneva know that the prophet, who had no honour in his own country, had found it elsewhere.

One evil this public expectation brought with it. It was necessary to respond to it. The applause which attended his course, imposed fresh labour. He was obliged to devote hours to preparation, hours which he wanted for his unfinished Athenæus. His very

[44] Ep. 115: 'Multorum opinio est, illatas in hanc provinciam musas adventu nostro.'

success was a hindrance to him. He had sought leisure in coming to Montpellier, and not found it. [45]'Such studies as these,' he writes in September 1600, 'require leisure and profound repose. I have been, by a succession of various accidents, called away from working at my task, and may say that I have not had a single month's, hardly a single day's, perfect quiet among my books.' And again a little later, 'Leisure is what I desire more than anything, if it might be God's will to give it me. My literary schemes are of such a nature that they demand repose of mind as an indispensable condition.'

But not all his day was given to his lecture and to preparing his Athenæus. The diary enables us to trace day by day his private reading at this period. Besides the devotional book in the early morning, he looks into a variety of books in the course of the day, but has always one author whom he steadily goes on with every day till he has read him through. The first such achievement in 1597 is Basil, the whole of whom is read between February 19 and March 11. As this must have been Froben's edition of 1551, which contains 698 folio pages of greek type, packed exceptionally close, we have an average reading of thirty-five pages per day; yet he was ill most of the time, and more than one day out of the twenty was curtailed or lost altogether by business. Either his own health or the atmosphere of the place set him next upon Hippocrates, the whole of which takes him only twenty-five days, though here he was helped by the Easter holidays. After this feat it seems disproportionate that Cedrenus takes thirteen days, but

[45] Ep. 213: 'Otium et quietem altam studia hæc postulant.' Ep. 1023: 'Ea molimur in literis, quæ animi tranquillitatem desiderant.'

other books were in hand during the time. We have mention, besides, of Jerome, Chrysostom, Tertullianus, Menander Rhetor, Philostratus, Apicius, all between January and July. And yet the diary omits to mention many readings. This is evident, not only from citations in his commentaries on authors, but from the volumes once in his possession still extant. There is, e. g. in the British Museum, a copy of Calvin's 'Epistolæ,' edition of Hanau 1597, marked throughout by Casaubon's pen. We have in it a volume of 780 pages, in small type, and not on a classical subject, read attentively, and yet not noticed in the diary, unless we assume that a Frankfort book, published in 1597, did not come into Casaubon's hands till after 1603. In this case it might have been spoken of in that fascicule of the diary which is lost. While lectures are proceeding, Athenæus is in hand; he is continually ill, has his correspondence to keep up, and, worst of all, is Rector of the faculty. This is the most vexing distraction of all[46]. It involves him, besides the comparatively simple business of the faculty, in looking after the lower school, and providing it with regents. This 'hated office' (munus invisum) was fortunately only for a year. Books of controversy, e. g. Bulenger against Du Plessis, he looks into in what he calls his 'leisure hours,' 'horæ succisivæ,' though it is not easy to see where, in the life we have described, were any such.

It was clear, then, that whatever else Montpellier could give him, it had not given him his long desired leisure. He soon began to find that it did not realise even the expectations he had most certainly formed. Popularity is from its nature shortlived, nowhere more

[46] Eph. p. 30 : 'Officia a studiis avocantia, et valde inofficiosa.'

so than in France, where it is the course of nature to 'smile, adore, abuse, discard, forget.' The audiences fell off, the novelty was gone and the interest abated. The terms of his engagement, originally 'not brilliant,' were ill performed. He had been promised six months' back salary towards the expense of moving. He could not get any part of it. He was to have 150 crowns to furnish with, this was cut down to 100. A house had been promised. He was obliged to huddle his family into two rooms. After some delay, Verchant, one of the elders of the church, offered a house. But he had to pay ten crowns a year for it, and one year's rent was deducted from his stipend in advance. Firewood had been stipulated, a costly article in a part of the country far from the great forests, and where the cold in winter is occasionally intense. It was doled out to him in a niggardly way, not a tenth part given of his consumption. Finally, his salary itself was allowed to fall into arrear, the two-monthly term, which was in the contract, was not observed. The poor scholar was driven to humiliating importunity. His own and his wife's ill-health, and the death of a daughter, Elisabeth, of fever, brought back his habitual despondency about his family affairs. De Fresne and Ranchin were both absent. He wrote to them to Paris to ask them to use their influence in his behalf. The effect of their doing so was to produce civil excuses in reply to fresh applications. The governor, the Duc de Ventadour, was absent; or one of the consuls was ill in bed; or the salt duties, out of which the stipend was payable, could not be collected because of the troubles. He had to pay a heavy fee on the royal diploma conferring his title and his chair. He applied for letters

of naturalisation, but the fee demanded by the chancery of Paris, though Ranchin applied personally, was so enormous that Casaubon declined to take them out. The same difficulty was renewed on his applying for a copyright protection of his volume of Notes on Athenæus, without which no publisher would undertake the expense of printing. He feels, as Erskine did, his children pulling the skirts of his coat and crying [47]'get us bread.' He could not have got along but for help from friends. Jean de Serres, himself only a poor minister, shared his purse with Casaubon. A considerable present was unexpectedly sent by an admirer, the governor of Rodez, to whom he was not even personally known. Bongars continued his donations of valuable books. In time some of his worst grievances were remedied. He threatened departure to Bâle, or back to Geneva. To see him go back in disgust to Geneva would have been humiliating to the council of Montpellier, which had enjoyed the triumph of alluring him away. They agreed to raise his salary to 1000 livres, in lieu of all perquisites; payment seems to have been more punctual, and he removed to a better house.

But he could not settle down in Montpellier. Even before he went there his friends had let fall hints of something further in store. De Fresne and Ranchin were in Paris in the autumn of 1597, and their report of Casaubon had filled the literary set there with the desire to get him to Paris. When they returned to Montpellier, they dropped hints of a mysterious nature. There was nothing definite named, perhaps nothing definite conceived. But the king's name was used. 'It was not unlikely the king might do something

[47] Eph. p. 74: 'Charissimi liberi aurem vellunt.'

for him.' Casaubon might have been in the dark as to how little the king could, or would, do. But still, what was said was enough to unsettle him, in a place in which he had never become rooted, and to prevent him from ever trying to make the best of its vexations. To these were now to be added the loss of a young daughter, Elisabeth, after a few days' illness, and the continual aggression of the catholic clergy, who were pushing to regain their old ascendancy in the university.

This small cloud was big with elements of future disturbance. No sooner was the bishop restored than the chapter began to claim the collège de Mende, the building in which the classes were held, as their property. The present bishop, de Ratte, was an antileaguer, a man of some letters, and on friendly terms with Casaubon. His successor, Fenouillet, was a fanatic, a pupil of S. François de Sales. But even with the politic de Ratte, the restoration of the authority of the church was a paramount object. The agitation never ceased. Inch by inch the lost ground was reconquered. In 1600 the clergy recovered the collège de Mende. By 1613 the victory over the university was completed, the bishop 'visited' by his vicar-general, and new statutes, in a catholic spirit, were promulgated, which required every member of the university to attend mass daily. Of this sap and siege Casaubon only saw the commencement, but it was enough to make it count among the discomforts, which made him ready to embrace any opening in another quarter.

The immediate occasion of his leaving Montpellier was his edition of Athenæus. This he considered the work on which he first really ventured his reputation, as it proved to be the work of his life. All previous books he spoke of as untimely births, the produce of his

apprentice years. He would not own them. To Athenæus he was about to commit himself.

We first find him engaged upon Athenæus as early as 1590. In that year, in the flush of youthful strength, he announced [48] to a young friend that he might soon look for a volume of observations on Athenæus, of which author he had been fortunate enough 'to get good MSS.' In 1594, he repeats the announcement to Scaliger, but it is now an edition of Athenæus which he contemplates. In 1596, when he left Geneva, he had completed a recension of the text, and passed a great part of the sheets through the press. He had been printing this under his own eye, at the press of Paul Estienne, though it was published for him by Jerome Commelin at Heidelberg, in 1597. Being hurried by his removal, the last sheets of the book were not so correct as they should have been [49]; the volume was without preface or dedication, and it contained not a single note. The first six months at Montpellier were too much occupied with their own duties, and it was not till the summer vacation that he could sit down regularly to the task. He did not propose to himself to write a commentary on Athenæus [50], but only to attempt some correction of its most corrupt text, and some explanation of the many obscurities arising out of that corruption. When he began the work, June 23, 1597, he had no notion of the time that it would require. Looking back upon the finished sheets, he says, 'It would be impossible to explain to you, reader, unless you had yourself some

[48] Ep. 5.

[49] Animadvv. in Ath. præf.: 'Migratio nostra ex Allobrogum finibus in Galliam, fuit in causa ut ea editio inemendatior prodiret.'

[50] Præfat. in Ath.: 'Nec commentarium in A. scribere consilium nobis.'

experience of this kind of investigation, what a world of labour and vexation this work has cost me.' He calculated that if he could revise the original at the rate of four pages per day it might be done within a few months. As the volume of text contained 705 pages, six months at this rate of progress would have sufficed. So much had he underrated the peculiar difficulties of this author, and the consumption of time in literary research, that three years and two months of his herculean labour were required to bring the Observations to a close, without the prolegomena.

The diary enables us to compute the time—almost the days and hours—occupied in the undertaking. The foundation had been laid, and memoranda accumulated, during the revision of the text at Geneva. He began to write the 'Animadversiones' at Montpellier, June 23, 1597, he completed them April 16, 1598. This was the first rough draft of a folio volume, of 648 pages. Within a few days he commenced a revision of the whole of what he had written. The remainder of this year was much broken into by journeys and visits. He began to print the first sheet March 20, 1599, and corrected the last at Lyons, August 9, 1600.

Admitted thus behind the scenes to a sixteenth-century workshop, we feel that we are now in the age of erudition. The renaissance, the spring-tide of modern life, with its genial freshness, is far behind us. The creative period is past, the accumulative is set in. Genius can now do nothing, the day is to dull industry. The prophet is departed, and in his place we have the priest of the book. Casaubon knows so much of ancient lore, that not only his faculties, but his spirits are oppressed by the knowledge. He can neither create nor enjoy; he groans under his load. The scholar

of 1500 gambols in the free air of classical poetry, as in an atmosphere of joy. The scholar of 1600 has a century of compilation behind him, and 'drags at each remove a lengthening chain.' If anyone thinks that to write and read books is a life of idleness, let him look at Casaubon's diary. Pope, during his engagement on Homer, used to be haunted by it in his dreams, and 'wished to be hanged a hundred times.' Vergil, having undertaken the Æneid, said of himself that 'he thought he must have been out of his senses when he did so.' But of the blood and sweat, the groans and sighs, which enter into the composition of a folio volume of learned research, no more faithful record has ever been written than Casaubon's 'Ephemerides.' Throughout its entire progress, the 'Animadversiones' on Athenæus was an ungrateful and irksome task, 'catenati in ergastulo labores.' He can hardly open Athenæus without disgust, and he prays God, day by day, that he may get away from such trifles to better reading.

In some instances the travail pangs and throbs attendant on composition are repaid by the delight of the parent in contemplating the offspring. This was not Casaubon's case. To himself the labour and its result were equally repulsive and disappointing. He felt most bitterly, on its termination, how far he had fallen short of his aim, moderate as his ambition was. For he called his book 'Animadversiones in A. Deipnosophistas,' 'Observations on Athenæus,' not a 'Commentary.' He invokes Scaliger's aid to amend some passages, whose corruption was beyond his own skill. To have done with the work was all the satisfaction it gave him. Nor indeed did he ever quite finish it. He projected 'Prolegomena,' which were to give a full,

(prolixe,) account of the author, and of the plan and construction of the Deipnosophists. He shut himself up 'parturiens,' trying to put these into shape. But after three days' labour he desisted from the attempt, being unable to satisfy himself[51].

When he was ready with the copy of the Observations, the next thing was to find a publisher. The city of Hippocrates contained no greek press in 1600, any more than it had done seventy years before, when Rabelais had sent his edition of the Hippocratic 'Aphorisms' to be printed at Lyons. The earliest book known as printed at Montpellier is not earlier than 1597. Prefixed to this—a law-book—are some twenty lines of greek. So that Jean Gilet, the Montpellier publisher, had *some* greek type. When Casaubon says[52] that their only printer had *no* greek type, he must be taken to mean not enough for an undertaking such as the 'Animadversions' on Athenæus.

Commelin the publisher of his former volume, the text, was dead, and with Casaubon's present prospects it was desirable that the book should be published in France. He endeavoured to get a Genevan printer to establish a press with a greek fount, and a learned corrector, at Montpellier [53]. But there was no scope for a learned press even in a university town. We may remember, that Oxford did not get greek types till 1586, and that Whitgift in 1584, doubted the expediency of allowing a press at all at Cambridge [54].

[51] Eph. p. 289.

[52] Ep. 153: 'Typographum hic habemus, cujus operæ utamur, nullum; qui adest, græcis literis caret.'

[53] After Casaubon's departure, François Chouet, of Geneva, seems to have acted on his suggestion, and to have opened a branch at Montpellier. See Cotton, Typogr. Gaz. 2d. series, s. v.

[54] Whitgift to Burghley, Heywood's Transactions, i. 381.

There was indeed a greek press at Toulouse, perhaps now, certainly in 1615, when young Maussac* edited a tract of Plutarch, and Psellus 'De lapidum virtutibus.' But no heretic could print, or even be, at Toulouse, a city where even the Edict could never be put in force[55]. What Casaubon would have preferred[56] was the splendour of Parisian type and paper—Morel or Patisson—whose editions, even in degenerate days, were 'éditions de luxe' when placed by the side of the smudgy and faded pages, which now issued from the presses of Geneva or Heidelberg. But when proof sheets could not be transmitted by a rapid post, you could only print where you lived. To print in Paris, you must be in Paris. In 1558, Hadrian Junius had thought it necessary to convey his own MS. copy of his Adagia from Haarlem to Bâle, not considering the ordinary channels safe. And in 1600 when Casaubon sent by 'the ordinary' a portion of the 15th book of Athenæus from Paris to Lyons, it was not wit hout great misgivings[57]. There remained Lyons.

Lyons was the staple of the French book-trade, such as that trade had now become. In the middle of the century the Lyons presses, stimulated by the example of the Swabian Gryphius, had imitated and rivalled those of Italy. Sebastian Greiff died 1556; soon the religious disturbances began, and Lyons itself fell under the influence of the catholic epidemic. The Lyonnese

* See note B in Appendix.

[55] Toulouse was the scene of the burning alive of Vanini, in 1619. The ferocious fanaticism of the place was not subdued in 1761, as we find from the frightful tragedy of Jean Calas.

[56] Ep. 169.

[57] Scheltema, Vita Junii, p. 58: 'Vix reperias, cui tuto perferendum aliquid credas.' Cas. Eph. p. 247: 'Hodie quod supererat libri 15 Athenæi Lugdunum misi, non sine sollicitudine propter incerta casuum.'

presses took a new direction, and entered upon a rivalry, not with Aldus, but with Geneva, in the fabrication of wares for the cheap market. While Geneva supplied bibles and calvinistic theology, Lyons was equally industrious in the production of missals and books of hours. And not content with the monopoly of their respective provinces, Geneva attempted surreptitious editions of Jesuit publications, and Lyons sent calvinistic hymn-books into the protestant market. In classical and law books the competition was open and keen. Before Reform was heard of, a strong commercial jealousy had been entertained by the old Roman municipium, towards the rising town on the Leman lake. Theological antipathy came to embitter an old grudge. And when the French refugees led Geneva largely into the printing business, which Lyons had hitherto practised as a monopoly, and attracted the Lyonnese compositors by higher wages, the exasperation at Lyons knew no bounds. The Lyonnese printers availed themselves of the brand of 'heretic' to get the Genevan books confiscated at the frontier, and thus secure at least the French market. Protestant countries had no index, and the Genevan printers could not retaliate in kind. They therefore endeavoured—more irritating still—to undersell. For the German market, Geneva had the advantage of being more conveniently situated towards Frankfort, then the staple of the German book-trade. The Lyonnese printers, though they continued to frequent the fairs at Frankfort, did a much smaller business there than those of Geneva. But the Genevese printers had no idea of foregoing the French sale, now that it began to revive at the peace, and they had recourse to various expedients to evade the prohibition. They omitted

from the title the obnoxious 'Genevæ,' or substituted some other place, e. g. 'Aureliæ,' 'Coloniæ,' 'St. Gervais,' 'Antwerp.' They even obtained from Henri IV, in his capacity of protector of the republic, a patent permitting them to use the imprint 'Coloniæ Allobrogum' for latin, and 'Cologny' for french books. Another device was for two members of the same family or firm to have establishments at both places. This was done by Pesnot, by the de Tournes, by Lepreux, and by Le Maire. The 'Aristotle's Works' of 1590, which Casaubon had seen through the press, was thus printed by Le Maire at Geneva, though it had Lyons (Lugduni) in the title.

While Casaubon was at a loss for a printer, his father-in-law's death occurred at Lyons (January, 1598). It became necessary that Casaubon should go to Geneva, to see after his wife's portion, which he had never received. On his way he stopped at Lyons, where, most unexpectedly, a patron was awaiting him. This was Meric de Vic, who was now residing at Lyons, in capacity of 'surintendant de la justice.' De Vic was himself not without classical instruction[58]; Madame de Vic was a woman of superior understanding. They both liked to have about them men of letters, and questions of even professional erudition might be heard discussed at their table. Casaubon has recorded one such occasion, when the talk turned on the early date of the corruptions found in classical texts. The instance of the transposition of leaves in the fourth book of Athenæus, was cited by one of the company, no doubt by Casaubon himself, as he alone would have

[58] Of Meric de Vic, Grotius says in 1622, Grotii Epp. ep. 171: 'Literas quantum amaret, in Casaubono ostendit, et mihi . . . non obscura dedit benevolentiæ suæ signa.'

known of it. De Vic, in later years the patron of Grotius, became now, by de Thou's intervention[59], the patron of Casaubon, and insisted upon his becoming his guest. The plague raging just then at Geneva, de Vic would not suffer him to proceed on his journey. Suddenly summoned to Paris to attend the king, de Vic proposed to Casaubon to go in his train. Under these favourable auspices he saw Paris for the first time.

He found himself received with open arms, and as one well-known to them, by the best set in the capital.

This circle of men, a society such as even Paris has not been able to produce again, consisted chiefly of members of the bar, or magistrature. Their centre of resort was the house of J. A. de Thou, the historian, president of the court of parlement. Their presiding genius had been Pierre Pithou, who was just lost to them by death, 1596, and at the time of Casaubon's coming to them they were none of them young. None of them, neither Nicholas Rapin, nor Passerat, nor Servin, nor Jacques Gillot, nor even François Pithou, had the solid classical learning of Pierre. François Pithou was a scientific jurist, and was deeply versed in the old Frankish codes, the Salic, Ripuarian, and the capitulaire[60]; Passerat and Rapin were elegant versifiers, but all alike agreed in the love and cultivation of greek and latin letters. Yet they were no mere literary triflers, witness the 'Historia' of de Thou, the 'Annales Francorum' of Pierre. Some of them filled the highest civil or judi-

[59] Ep. 1020.

[60] Scaliger[a]. 2[a]. p. 187: 'François Pithou est le plus docte d'aujourduy en ces auteurs du dernier temps, comme leges Ripuariorum, Capitularia, etc., après luy peut estre mis Freherus.'

cial offices; all of them had gone through the time of the League, and the Sixteen; some had sate in the parlement of Tours, or been sent to the Bastille by Bussi-Leclerc. They were catholics, but of all nuances, from François, who was dévot, and hung about the convents, to Pierre, who was a protestant brought into the catholic fold by terrorism. They were catholics, but catholics who were united in a veritable culte of the absent Scaliger, and who sought to locate Casaubon in Paris. Out of their reunion had issued the Satyre Menippée, a literary pamphlet, whose surprising public effect ranks it with the 'Epistolæ obscurorum virorum,' the letters of Junius, or the 'Que ce que le Tiers-état?' All past suffering is a possession, and the trials from which they had barely emerged, already old men, had given firmness to their character, and breadth and largeness to their views.

Thirty years later the Académie française took its rise in such a reunion of like-minded men, who desired for their literary activity the encouragement and stimulus of social converse. [61]'In 1629 some private persons, lodged in remote parts of Paris, finding it highly inconvenient, by reason of the great extent of the city, to visit each other with the chance of not meeting, resolved to see each other one day in each week at the house of M. Conrart, which was centrally situated.' The assemblages at M. Conrart's house are remembered because they have given birth to a celebrated society, the only institution in France which is more than a century old. The meetings at the house of de Thou are less famous, yet the men who there came together were cast in a nobler and more manly mould than the dilettante critics who founded the

[61] Pellisson, Hist. de l'acad. franç. 1. 8.

académie. Ecclesiastical terrorism, which condemned the history of de Thou, as unfit reading for good catholics, had made in one generation sad havoc with the independence and integrity of the French character. In 1629 we find ourselves in a salon of men polished, ingenious, and loving letters, but wanting the more robust constituents both of character and intellect.

The meetings at de Thou's house, in 1598, were but a revival of an earlier Sunday-morning assemblage, in a time before the S. Bartholomew had come to cast a gloom over Parisian life. In the cloisters of the Cordeliers, from eight to eleven, or in Christophe de Thou's house, after dinner, there used to assemble the two Pithous, Claude du Puy, Le Fevre, François Hotman, the young Scaliger, with others less famous. J. A. de Thou was but a youth and a listener. He used to say [62] 'he had learnt all he knew from the conversation of these men, who there discoursed of letters. It required anyone to be thoroughly well read to take a part.' To the later period of which we now write, Rigault's [63] description applies; 'Numerously attended assemblages at the house of de Thou maintained our circle of friends. Hither flocked all the best and most instructed men of all ranks, from every province of the kingdom and from foreign parts. There you heard and discussed everything noteworthy that occurred in the city or parlement, all the news that sails, oars, posts brought in from over seas, or the countries beyond the Alps or Pyrenees.'

[62] Thuana, p. 188: 'Là ils communiquoient des lettres, et falloit estre bien fondé pour estre de leur compagnie; et pour moi, je ne faisois qu'escouter. Cette compagnie se trouvoit chez moy les festes après disner, où M. Scaliger estoit souvent.'

[63] Rigaltii Vit. Pit. p. 24.

The men who have been named, with others, formed an inner circle which was comprehended in one wider. 'One secret,' says M. Rénan[64], 'of the power of french esprit is the close union which has ever existed among us between those who write books, and those who read and appreciate them.' The larger society is known to history as the party of the 'politiques,' and consisted, to speak broadly, of all the men of any education in France. The bar, the magistrature, the lesser noblesse, and even the church, contributed to this larger circle, which comprehended calvinistic seigneurs, as well as gallican prelates. It was not numerically strong, but, like the party of enlightenment in every period, its influence was greater than its numbers warranted. It is the policy of such a party to ally itself with literature, as it is the only party which the press can really serve. But the 'politique' and gallican party of 1600 was not only allied with literature, its leading men themselves were of classical culture and tastes. Such were still, or had been, Paul de Foix, Henri de Mesme, Schomberg, d'Ossat, Achille de Harlay, Le Maitre, Du Vair, the cardinal Joyeuse, Servin, Edouard Molé, men in whose lives, the camp, the court, or diplomacy, had whetted the appetite for knowledge, and the desire of recurring to good books, as the food of the mind. 'Il nous faut, si nous esperons de parvenir à quelque gloire, hanter avec les morts,' the words of Du Vair[65], was the rule and practice of them all. Paul de Foix had a travelling library, which was unpacked for his use, and that of his suite, every evening on their arrival at the place where they were to lodge.

This grave and solid generation, the salt of french society at that epoch, still moves before us in the

[64] Etudes morales, p. 340. [65] De l'éloquence franç. Œuvr. p. 227.

'Mémoires' of de Thou, or the 'Voyages en cour' of Groulart. The weight of these men was some set off against the mass of the noblesse, destitute of culture and despising it[66], and the mass of the town populations deprived of all ideas but those which they gathered inside the walls of the churches. But the men of education by no means balanced the united weight of the men of the sword and the clergy. With this latter party sided the vast majority of the nation, and with it rested the real force of the government. The central power in France was not strong enough to go against the inert mass of this catholic majority, on any matter of public policy, which lay within its apprehension. The small educated section of which we speak were employed by the government, but they did not direct it. If the experiment of placing government in the hands of men of letters has been one of the misfortunes of France in recent times[67], the want of political knowledge among the noblesse was most unfortunate for the France of Henri IV. Hence, they were at the mercy of the Jesuits, who were thus enabled to work France in the interests of an ultramontane policy. The party of enlightenment were obliged to be content with the subordinate functions of administration, and with alleviating the mischief of a policy which they could not controul. Their best leverage was found in the personal character of the king. This was especially the case in matters connected with public instruction, for it is in these matters that the personal tastes of the prince

[66] Poirson, Hist. du règne de Henri IV, 3. 630. Amelot de la Houssaye, in Card. d'Ossat. lettr. 195: 'Henri IV. disoit qu'avec son chancelier (de Sillery) qui ne savoit point de latin, et son connétable, qui ne savoit ni lire ni écrire, il pouvoit venir à bout des affaires les plus difficiles.'

[67] Morley, Voltaire, p. 57.

are most influential. The encouragement of science and letters is almost always a personal influence. Henri IV. had learnt regularly the usual latin and greek, but he hated men of any pretensions to learning, for their independent bearing. Scaliger he honoured with his especial aversion. But his intelligence was too good, and his views too wide for him not to feel the advantage which general culture gives in the handling of affairs. 'Les lettres ouvrent l'esprit à tout,' he said, and, though he disliked the scholar by profession, he preferred to employ and to trust a well-informed lawyer, rather than an ignorant and arrogant grand seigneur. He would listen to de Thou, even if unwilling or unable to act on his suggestions. [68] 'The king,' Casaubon writes to Scaliger, 'though, as you know, not greatly given to literature, yet promises himself much credit from patronising my studies. This I owe to your exaggerated praises of me, which he is fond of repeating.' Henry IV, like Francis I, like Louis XIV, had a royal sense of his duty as patron of learning, and enlightenment enough to understand the lustre such patronage could shed upon his country and reign.

Knowing all this of the king's disposition, Casaubon's friends resolved to venture upon producing their protegé in person at court. The experiment succeeded; he made a favourable impression. The king—grand hableur—kept him three hours talking over the affairs of the university of Paris, and ended by inviting him to Paris to be professor in it[69]. That he might be

[68] Ep. 208: 'Rex, etsi ut scis, *οὐ μουσικώτατος* . . . illis tuis fidem veri excedentibus elogiis adductus, quæ sunt illi quotidie in ore, nihil mediocre de studiis nostris sibi pollicetur.'

[69] Casaubon has not himself described this first interview with

known to the heir presumptive, as well as to the reigning sovereign, Nicolas Le Fevre presented him to the young prince of Condé, who was being brought up as a catholic, but was fortunate in an enlightened preceptor. The prince began immediately to ask about Scaliger[70]: 'Would he return? Such a man ought not to be lost to France!' In taking Casaubon with him to the house of de Thou, de Vic was not introducing a stranger. Casaubon had been in correspondence with de Thou for many years, having introduced himself in 1592, by a present of the first edition of his 'Theophrastus.' He had heard much of de Thou's library, but it surprised his expectation[71]. When he entered the splendid collection and read the titles—authors he had never seen, or even known to exist in print—his heart sank at the thought of how little he knew. De Thou had been employed forty years in making this collection, which at the time of his death consisted of 8000 volumes of printed books, and 1000 MSS, all in that sumptuous binding so well known to amateurs. To Casaubon, to whom friends were another name for impediments to study, the society of de Thou's salon might not present much temptation. But the libraries —de Thou's and the royal, with which Queen Cathe-

Henri IV. It rests on the authority of François Pithou, and as the date of the epistle is doubtful, it may possibly relate to a later time. Gudii epp. ep. 180: 'Cum Casaubono de academia Parisiensi instituenda per tres horas locutus, scribitur a Francisco Pithœo.'

[70] Ep. 176: 'Post prima salutationis verba, quaesivit a me princeps, numquid scirem quid valeret Scaliger? quid nunc ageret? an reditum in Galliam cogitaret? tantum virum non debere abesse Gallia.'

[71] Ep. 175: 'Lutetiam, quod felix sit, hodie primum vidi; et statim magni Thuani museum ingressus, quam multa ignorarem, quam parum, aut nihil, scirem, agnovi.'

rine's had now been united—opened to him that supply for which he had so long thirsted. From this moment his desire to remove to Paris became paramount.

On October 27, Casaubon returned to Montpellier; but not to resume the regular duties of his profession. He was waiting. The appointment was delayed, but the king's promise was passed, and there could be no doubt it would be fulfilled. He even announced his impending resignation to the consuls. It would have been unbecoming in him, he thought, to quit the service of those, who on the whole had treated him with much respect, without requesting his congé in form. Not to be idle[72], he gave a voluntary course of greek, and allowed the duties of rector, which he detested, to be imposed on him for a short time. He paid a visit of a fortnight to de Fresne at Castres. All this while not intermitting his daily study, which turned, among other things, on Theophrastus' botanical works, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, and S. Jerome. The third volume of the works of S. Jerome brought him to the close of the year 1598, still the expected nomination did not arrive.

The long delay seemed ominous; but at last, January 24, 1599, after supper, the expected packet was put into his hands. But it was no nomination to a professorship, or to any office whatever. It was simply an order, under the sign-manual, to leave Montpellier, and to hasten to Paris, 'where it is our intention to employ you in the profession of classical letters in the university.' The letter missive did not even assign any stipend or pension, but only intimated that such a stipend, as well as the expenses of removal, would be forthcoming. The original, which was preserved

[72] Eph. p. 102: 'Ne otiosi essemus.'

by Casaubon among his papers, and printed by Meric in his 'Pietas,' ran as follows:—

'Monsieur de Casaubon,

'Ayant deliberé de remettre sus l'Université de Paris, et d'y attirer pour cest effect le plus de savans personnages qu'il me sera possible; sachant le bruit que vous avez d'estre aujourd'huy des premiers de ce nombre; je me suis resolu de me servir de vous, pour la profession des bonnes Lettres, en laditte Université, et vous ay, à ceste fin, ordonné tel appointement, que je m'assure que vous vous en contenterez. Partant vous ne faudrez incontinent la présente receue de vous preparer à vous acheminer par deça, pour vous y rendre le plustost que le pourrez faire,' etc. etc.

To remove all difficulty with regard to his present employment, the consuls of Montpellier were specially enjoined to release him from his engagement, and to offer every facility for his departure. On February 26, having previously sent off his wife, children, and books, he bade farewell to Montpellier, from which he said he carried away nothing but a good character. [73]Yet it was not without regret that he parted from kind friends, and a flourishing protestant community, to go out into an unfriendly catholic world.

He deviated from the direct route to Lyons to visit his mother, who was settled at Bourdeaux in Dauphiné. There he found his wife and children, and tasted a [74]'wonderful sweetness' in being again among his family friends. Yet though only there two days he managed each day to get a 'few hours' for study, and

[73] Eph. p. 136: 'Non sine mœrore urbem nostri amantem reliquimus, florentissimam ibi ecclesiam non sine gemitu, tenellam filiolam non sine suspiritibus.'

[74] Eph. p. 138: 'Mira suavitate.'

read Du Plessis' book on the 'Eucharist' just published. He saw again Crêst, where he had been brought up, and where, in the Terror, his father had been minister. On approaching Lyons he met de Vic, who had come out to meet him, and who would not suffer him to go to an inn, but received him and his whole household into his hotel.

He reached Lyons, en route for Paris, March 7, 1599. Instead of continuing his journey, however, he remained at Lyons, and chiefly in de Vic's house, nearly twelve months. It was not till February 28, 1600, that he at last set out for Paris. Of this delay, in spite of the urgency of the letter missive, which had ordered him 'immediately on the receipt of these presents' to repair to Paris, there seems no satisfactory account to be given in his letters or diary. That de Vic persuaded him to await the king's visit to Lyons, where he was expected: that he had to make two journeys to Geneva about his father-in-law's affairs: that he resolved upon printing his 'Observations' at Lyons—these reasons are at different times alleged, but are insufficient to account for his conduct. Besides the contumelious neglect of the royal mandate, he was incessantly urged by the letters of the Paris friends, severely blaming his unreasonable procrastination[75], and his indifference to a favour which had cost them so much solicitation. As for the printing of the Athenæus, which he repeatedly assigns as the object of his stay in Lyons, he would have much preferred to have had it done in Paris. It was with difficulty that a printer was found for it at Lyons, where there were

[75] Ep. 191: 'Amici nostram moram increpantes Lutetiam conviciis vocant.'

no greek compositors, and where it was very badly done when it was done.

The true explanation of Casaubon's seeming waywardness is, I believe, that at Lyons it began to dawn upon him, that a condition was to be attached to the appointment now held out to him; that he was to purchase a professorship, as Henri IV. had the crown, by abjuration. It is impossible to doubt, nor did Scaliger doubt[76], that the Paris friends acted in good faith, and were quite content to have Casaubon among them, all calvinist as he was. But they could only persuade and solicit. Those who were nearer the king, those who had the bestowal of royal favour, were of another sort. Du Perron and the catholic junta would not give gratis. From the first, they resolved to dangle the professorship before his eyes, but not to bestow it, till they had the recantation. This is the explanation of the mysterious language of the mandate, which calls him to Paris to profess classics, yet does not appoint him professor. Nor was it only the knavish section of the party which beset him. De Vic and Madame de Vic, out of pure concern for his eternal welfare, prevailed upon him to talk over the disputed points with two capuchins. Madame de Vic endeavoured to inveigle him into being present at mass, just out of curiosity, to see a ceremony he had never seen in his life. She thought, in her goodness of heart, that it might be blessed to him.

From this time a report began to spread, that Casaubon was preparing to 'go over.' Conversions were the fashion of the day. From the great ladies of the court, down to the meanest monk, good catholics were competing eagerly for the credit of bringing souls into

[76] Scal. Ep. 50.

the church. The 'convertisseurs' were incessantly at their work. An abundant harvest of success rewarded their efforts. All places of profit or distinction being reserved for catholics, abjuration became the necessary step to preferment. The skill of the converter consisted only in humouring the self-respect of the convert. He heard a solemn dispute, was overpowered by argument and quotation, submitted himself to instruction, went into retreat for a week, and came out whitewashed. The ascendancy in opinion, and consequent mastery in controversy, which, forty years before, had been on the side of the protestants, had now passed to the catholics. Daniel Chamier says[77] of père Coton: 'Reboul had represented to me Coton as not only learned but modest. And in fact, when I came to have to do with him, I found him more temperate and reasonable than Loyolites in general. Still he too had adopted that attitude, which all Jesuits assume in their intercourse with us, that of laying down the law as a teacher to a pupil, not disputing with us on equal terms.' For an illustrious heretic a public conference would be arranged, where bishops and cardinals sat in imposing array. For those of lower degree, a dispute between a Jesuit and a minister was a sufficient occasion for the would-be convert to declare, that he was convinced of his error.

Casaubon presented an obvious mark for this game, from his reputation and his personal character. He was now confessedly the most eminent living scholar after Scaliger; his name was known wherever greek letters were read. As it was well understood that Scaliger was impossible, Casaubon's conversion was the highest prize of the kind which was open to the

[77] Epp. Jesuit. Præf.

efforts of the 'convertisseurs.' The personal character of the man, of an anxious piety: not enthusiastic but devout to depression; though a sincere huguenot, yet moderate and equitable towards catholics; too learned not to be aware of the many weak points in the calvinistic armour; a weakness of will proceeding from mingled ill health, amiability, and excessive reading; all these characteristics were, in engineering phrase, in favour of the attack. More especially his intimate acquaintance with the greek and latin fathers, and a sentiment for christian antiquity, indicated an affinity for catholic rather than calvinistic divinity. The contemptuous treatment of antiquity on the part of the protestants was not only unbecoming; it was a historical error, an error which revolted those to whom antiquity was better known. These facts, which soon became known in the jesuit camp, always well served with intelligence, afforded ground for hope, that Casaubon's case was one where, instead of the usual comedy of 'coming over' being enacted, a real conversion might be effected. His having quitted Geneva, and having come into France; his being the close friend of Canaye de Fresne, who was known by the Jesuits (though Casaubon was innocent of it) to be preparing to desert; his quitting calvinistic Montpellier to establish himself in fanatical Lyons, in the house of the catholic de Vic; and his being known to be expecting preferment from the court;—these were certainly circumstances calculated not only to give hopes to the jesuit faction, but to create an impression on the public at large, that Casaubon was about to do what everybody else, who wished to get on, was doing around him.

Casaubon was deeply concerned when he found that

reports of this nature began to be credited among his own co-religionists. [78] Even during his residence at Lyons, he had to suffer from the suspicions of his friends, who hinted that he was about to leave a losing cause. If ever man was sincere in his belief, Casaubon was. His after conduct proves that he was prepared to make any sacrifice for it. But though his conduct was firm and consistent, the publication of his private diary has revealed to us, that there was a moment when his mind wavered. The traces indeed are slight, but they are sufficient. It could not be otherwise. Belief is so much a matter of sympathy and contagion, that when all we hear and see goes one way, we receive an insensible impulse in the same direction. An uneducated mind, in which religious belief is a mere matter of habit, might not be affected by epidemic catholicism. But Casaubon had applied his knowledge to the grounds of his faith. Examining and re-examining as he was compelled to do, the balance of the evidence must at different times have seemed to be on opposite sides. There was no doubt on which side his interest lay. When he finally decided against his interest, he gave the highest evidence man can give of a sincere love of truth. These traces of momentary wavering are a measure of the force of the catholic reaction in France. As part of Casaubon's biography, they must be read in connection with the whole of his confessions. The pages of the diary during the following years of trial continue to abound in evidence, as well of humble piety as of single-eyed love of what

[78] Ep. 211: among the reasons he assigns for wishing to get away from Lyons, one is: 'Odium nostri conflatum in animis plerorumque τῶν τὰ ἡμέτερα φρονούντων, cum in hac urbe (Lyons) tum in vicinis provinciis.'

seemed to him truth. We quote one entry. On his forty-third birthday Casaubon enters as follows[79]:—

'I am not excusing my act (not going to church). If religious feeling were as vigorous in my mind as it ought to be, neither the impediment to which I allude, nor yet more serious difficulties, would have interfered with the journey. I here confess to thee, my God, what is the truth, zeal for religion is languid both in my own mind, and among those belonging to me. Do thou, o merciful Father, stir it up, and kindle it into flame. Make us so to live henceforward that those, who are endeavouring with so much pertinacity to pervert me, may know that thou, o God, wilt not suffer our faith even to be imperilled.'

The suspicions of those of his own church were not the only vexations which he had to support during his stay in Lyons. He had with difficulty found a printer[80] for his 'Observationes' and de Vic had generously advanced a portion of the expense. The remainder was to be found by the author himself, who embarked his slender savings in the enterprise. Of profit there was no thought, but he might look forward to be repaid his outlay by the sale of the book. He found, in Antoine de Harsy[81], one of those cormorants, who

[79] Eph. p. 333.

[80] Ep. 1020: 'Parum græcis edendis assuetæ sunt operæ Lugdunenses.' A compositor was expected to know latin, in order to set it up in type. Corranus complains of the London printers in 1574, Zurich Letters, 2d. ser. p. 254: 'So many errors have crept in through the carelessness of the printer, who is unacquainted with latin, as are almost all the printers in this country.'

[81] Antoine de Harsy, son, or grandson of Denis de Harsy, also printer, † 1614, after which the business was carried on by his widow. Eph. 291: 'Curis anxius propter improbitatem istius Harsii, quæ

about this time began to sit hard by the tree of knowledge. The publisher hitherto had been the friend and co-operator of the author, even when not author in his own person. Casaubon's Athenæus is an early instance of spoliation, though there was not here the usual excuse that the publisher was risking his capital on the credit of the author's name. Madame de Harsy, who transacted the business in her husband's absence, was even more extortionate. As soon as she ascertained that Casaubon was obliged to leave Lyons on a certain day, she took advantage of it to mulct him of a large sum as extra charges. He might have resisted in the law courts, where he knew the judge would have befriended him. But he could not postpone his departure, and was obliged to pay. The pangs which Casaubon suffered from these Lyonnese sharks will be understood, when we remember how he had toiled in the compilation of his volume, and what hopes he had rested on its production. This was all that was wanting as the fitting close of the scholar's toil—the last chapter in the calamities of authors.

Nor did his pecuniary losses end here. Henri Estienne had died intestate. While Casaubon superintended the printing of his Athenæus, Madame Casaubon went to Geneva to look after her share of her father's property. Henri's affairs were found to be more involved even than had been feared, and it became necessary that Casaubon should interrupt his edition, and make first one, and then a second, journey to Geneva, in the business. The affair dragged on in the courts till 1607. Casaubon persisted in accusing the council, and even the Genevese in general, of

miris modis me vexat per somnum, scelus, dum edito libro inhiat, et pecuniis quas ibi posuimus.'

conspiring to rob him, and sometimes breaks out into frantic denunciations of the 'hypocrisy and pharisaism which was covered by the long cloak.' Even if he did not exaggerate his loss, he could not on cool reflection implicate the city of Geneva in the decision of a judicial tribunal, even supposing that decision to have been unjust. It was on this occasion that he entered, and only for the second time in his life[82], his father-in-law's library. 'Such a wreck of vast projects! A memorial of stupendous labour!' he exclaimed on seeing it. He used his influence with the co-heirs to allow the MSS. to pass to Paul Estienne, who inherited the greek press under his grandfather's will. The printed books were sold for the benefit of the creditors. Sold for a song, Casaubon says. The matrixes of the greek types remained in pawn in the hands of le Clerc. With true disinterestedness—for if there was anything which Casaubon coveted it was a greek MS.—he asked nothing for himself, but begged Paul to lend Hoeschel a transcript of Photius which he found in Henri's handwriting. In telling Hoeschel what he had done, Casaubon writes[83]: 'If I ask you when you have occasion to mention Henri Estienne, to do so with as much respect as you can, you will think I wrong your goodness of heart. I know your excellent disposition, but you are aware that it is the fashion, now he is gone, to run him down and insult his memory. I am not going to justify his moody and

[82] In October, 1598, he tells Scaliger, ep. 175: 'Volo, tamen, scias, nondum mihi visam Stephani bibliothecam; non dico ab ejus obitu, sed omnino invisam eam esse nobis.'

[83] Ep. 186: 'Quantus ille vir (Henri Estienne) fuerit in literis, si nesciebam ante, potui adfatim discere, ex iis quæ reperta sunt mihi in bibliotheca.'

irascible temper; some of his latest things I could wish unwritten. He had, indeed, many faults; but how truly great he was in letters, even had I not known before, I should have learnt on entering his library, where I saw incredible monuments of learning, and the love of it.' What Casaubon was foregoing for himself, may be understood from the fact, that he had never read Photius' Bibliotheca, which was not then printed, and knew that it must contain some things which would have been of use to him in his notes on Athenæus[84].

To these annoyances was added another, brought upon him by his good nature. He had taken into his family his nephew, Pierre Chabanes. This youth, at once stupid and froward, could not be induced to behave himself in de Vic's family. He was always quarrelling with the servants, and once nearly set the house on fire by throwing hot coals at them in the kitchen. The circumstance only brought into relief the sweet temper of Madame de Vic, who was content with a gentle reprimand, and would not allow Casaubon to turn the young mule out of the house, within the hour, as he proposed to do. Indeed, he kept the nephew with him till his death, which happened in 1602. In spite of his bad disposition, his patient uncle mourns for his loss, as for that of a child of his own[85].

De Vic continued to be the adviser by whom all Casaubon's plans were now directed[86].

[84] Ep. 197.

[85] Eph. p. 160: 'Petulantissimum . . . crux, et mors mea, animo vilissimo.'

[86] Eph. p. 233: 'Cujus consiliis naviculam nostram gubernari par est.'

APPENDIX TO 3.

NOTE A. p. 91.

DEED OF APPOINTMENT AS PROFESSOR AT MONTPELLIER.

Burney MSS. 367. f. 127.

L'AN mil cinq cens quatre vingt et dix sept et le douziesme Jour du mòys de Mars dans la maiõn Consull' de Mõtpellr. En personne honnorab' hommes messieurs mre Pierre Cavassin ergs (sic) droictz, mre Anthonie Atgier Sr. de la Bastide, Anthonie de Burgens, Bernardin Durant, Imbert Coste et Anthonie Barrat Consul' de la Ville de Montpellr lesquelz de leur grè ensuivant les precedãtes derlìberacõns du Concil de Vingt quatre avec Ratificaõn de ce qua esté faict et commencé et de tout ce quy sest passé pour avoir appellé et plusieurs fois eit faict venir en fin de la ville de Geneve en ceste ville Monsieur mre Isac Cazaubon professeur aus langues et bonnes lrès pour y faire doresnavãt sa residence et demeurans tant qu'il plera a Dieu pour y lire publicquement et faire excercice publicq' de ses langues et bonnes lrès soubz les Pactes et condicõns a luy acordes et y teneues, en lacte que luy a este envoyee par Sr Denis Pasturel marchand de ceste ville envoye expres devers luy pour le conduire a faire lesd' voyage qui sont telz que sensuivent. Premierement que les d' Sieures Consuls suivant lad' desliberacõn du conseil du vingt septiẽ Octob' dernier passe seront teneues comme ont promis et promettant aud' Sr. Casaubon present et aceptant pour son entretenement et gages annelz luy faire payer la somme de deux cents soixante six escus deux tiers payable par anticipaciõ en deux thermes au commencement' de chascun demy annee. Lesquels gaiges courront et ont commence des le jour de son depart dud' Geneve que feust le neufmesme de Decemb' dernier sans en ce comprendre tõ les fraiz et despences par eulx desja faicts et fournis a la conduicte dud' sieur Casaubon de sa famille et bibliotheque despuis lad' ville de Geneve jusques en cestes ville comme luy auroit este promis et acorde p led' Conseill' et ausquels frais a este desja satisfaict aussi seront teneus lesd' Sieurs Consuls comme ils ont promis

et promettent au non de toute la ville et communaulte de luy donner et faire approver dans son logis chascung an, la quantite de cent quintaulx de bois de valleur et luy fournir une maison et logis commode po^{r} son habitacōn et demeuran' tant quil servira a la ville, aut^{e} despens dicelle po^{r} lameublement de laquelle maīōn pour une fois suivant le que luy auroit este acorde lesd' Sieurs Consuls luy auroient faict payer ainsi que led' S^{r}. Casaubon a confessé la somme de cent escus suivant le mandement que luy auroit este despechè p lesd' Sieurs Consuls sur commis a la levee de la cour dung sous po^{r}. chūng quintal sel ordonne po^{r}. l'establissement dung College de ceste ville, dont il sera content, et a quitte la d' ville et communaulte moyenant lesquelz susd' pactes led' S^{r}. de Casaubon a promis et promet ausd' Sieurs consuls ville et communaulte de bien et deuement verser en sa profession en la d' ville, et de bien et deuement faire son debvoir a la lecture desd' langues et bonnes lrēs, tout ainsi qu'il a desja commence de faire comme aussi a esté conveneu et acordè, que ny lad' ville ny led' S^{r}. Casaubon ne se pourront oncques de present ny a la venir despartir du pnt contract que dung mutuel et reciproque consentement. Et po^{r} tout ce dessus acorder et server restituō de to^{r}. despens domaiges et intherests lesd' Sieurs Consuls ont obligé tous et chacungs les biens de la communaulte de lad' ville, et led' S^{r}. Casaubon les siens propres meubles et imeubles present et advenir que pource faire ont soubzines aulz rigueurs des cours de Monsieur le gouverneur presidial petit sul (?) royal ordinance dud' Montpell^{r}. et aides requizes et necessaires In vue chūne dicelles et ainsi lont promis et dirre et Renōn a tous droictz et loix a ce dessus contraires.

Faict et recitté dans Mōtpell^{r}. et dans la Maison Consull^{r} en presence de S^{r}. Fran' Sartie Borgeois, Noble Guillaume . . . et S^{r}. Jean Costier, habitans dans Mōtpell^{r}. soubz^{nes} . . . lesd' parties a loriginal, et moy Pierre Pesquet Nota^{r}. Royal dud' Mōtpellier soubz^{ne}.

PESQUET, Note^{r}.

NOTE B. p. 125.

Maussac's Toulouse editions are: Plutarchi libellus de fluviorum et montium nominibus . . . Philip. Jacob. Maussacus recensuit, latine vertit, et notis illustravit, Tolosæ, ap. Dominicum Bose, 1615, 8°.; Pselli de lapidum virtutibus libellus; Philippus Jacobus Maussacus primus vulgavit, latine vertit, et emendavit, Tolosæ, typis viduæ J.

Colomerii regis et universitatis typographi sub signo nominis Jesu, 1615, 8°.

Hoffmann assigns the first edition of Scaliger's 'Aristoteles Hist. Animal.' to the year 1591, which would be earlier evidence of a Greek press at Toulouse. But this date is an error, a thing of very rare occurrence in that accurate bibliographer. Maussac published the 'Historia Animal.' for the first time in 1619.

4.

PARIS.

1600—1610.

1600. De Vic was now in Paris. In February he wrote despondingly to Casaubon to tell him that all past promises were forgotten; that his friends were now powerless; that the ultramontane party were wholly indifferent, and that in short he was not to look to the court for anything. Casaubon, having long made up his mind that it would be so, was not disconcerted at intelligence which was no news, but continued with steady perseverance to work at his Athenæus. A fortnight, however, had hardly elapsed before de Vic wrote a summons to him to come to Paris immediately, without explaining his reasons, but in a tone which compelled compliance. On February 28, he took horse, and used such expedition that, notwithstanding the badness of the roads, and the heavy inundations, he reached de Vic's house in Paris upon the seventh day. He was admitted to an audience, and received with suspicious courtesy by the king and the lords. Henri again repeated what he had said about employing Casaubon in the 'restoration of the university,' and the next day, in council, spontaneously mentioned Casaubon's name, and his own

intentions. Casaubon received an order to wait upon Monsieur de Rosny, and, as an earnest of what was to come, received a gratification of two hundred crowns. After this nothing further was done; he remained in Paris, apparently forgotten and useless, separated from the two objects of his affection, his family and his books, and the Lyons press at a standstill. Of course reading not less, but even more, than usual. For he was now in a land of books, and had besides brought along with him in his baggage the Photius he had received as a present from Hoeschel, which he now read for the first time.

In the midst of this desultory life, he was surprised by a summons from the king, calling him to Fontainebleau, where the court then was, for an 'affair which he had much at heart.' '[1]Mr. Cazobon, Je desire vous veoir et vous communiquer ung affaire que j'ay fort à cueur cest pourquoy vous ne fauldrez incontinent la presente receue de vous acheminer en ce lieu et vous y rendre pour le plus tard dimanche au soir, et m'asseurant que vous n'y manquiez je ne feray celle cy plus longue que pour prier Dieu qu'il vous ait en sa s^te^ garde. Ce soir de Fontaynebleau ce 28^me^ jour d'Avril 1600, Henry[1].'

Casaubon must now have begun to understand for what purpose he had been brought up from Lyons in such hot haste.

The fashion of conferences, and their adroit management by the catholic reaction, has been already noticed. In the earlier days of the religious troubles, a conference was a bonâ fide attempt to come to an under-

[1] Preserved by Casaubon among his papers, and now in Burney MSS. 367.

standing. Such, e. g. had been the colloquy of Poissy, 1561. Afterwards, when the ascendancy in opinion was finally secured to the catholics, these public disputations were merely blinds, under cover of which those desirous of apostatizing could decorously effect their retreat. It may seem surprising, that the huguenot party, after so much experience, especially after the farce of the conference of Mantes, 1593, could allow themselves to be, again and again, entrapped in the same way. The explanation is partly to be found in the circumstance, that, while the catholics acted with the unanimity of an organised party, the protestants, dispirited and dispersed, had no centre of policy. Thus, they repeated their mistakes, in the different provinces, with that want of tactic which always attends a losing game.

The conference of Fontainebleau, 1600, was the most tragical of these self-imposed defeats, because it struck a noble soul.

Philippe de Mornay, seigneur du Plessis Marly, is justly described by Voltaire as 'the greatest and most virtuous man of the protestant party.' It is little to say of him, that he was superior to personal interest[2], for merely to remain protestant, was now to sacrifice interest to conscience. Clear of the least suspicion of making a tool of his party, he had staked life and fortune in the cause of Henri IV. None of his adherents had rendered the king such services as had de Mornay. Besides his personal exertions, he had

[2] Even in the caricature of the 'Henriade,' where the figures of the wars of religion are set up in gilt gingerbread in the taste of the 'grand siécle,' the noble lineaments of the calvinist seigneur stand out as if incapable of disfigurement. See the lines, chant 9: 'Son exemple instruisait bien mieux que ses discours; Les solides vertus furent ses seuls amours,' etc.

nearly ruined himself by loans, still unrepaid. With a catholic education, de Mornay had become protestant before he was twenty, by study of the controversy. He continued, notwithstanding his public engagements, to read theology, and collected a valuable library from the dispersion of the monastic treasures. Had he not been grand seigneur, he would have passed for learned. He talked well, adding to the accent of a gentleman, the authority of knowledge. Du Perron, who had learning, but with the servile manners of a court chaplain, envied him what he tauntingly calls[3] his 'éloquence de Péricles.' In 1593, de Mornay was too much of a statesman not to see that abjuration was a political necessity for Henri IV. But he had understood that the royal conversion was to carry with it such a reform of the abuses of the church, as might have healed the religious schism; a reform of such a kind, as had taken place in England. He never expected to see Henri of Navarre go in for rampant ultramontanism. The crafty Béarnais took care to encourage his illusion, and not to undeceive his friend, till he could do without him. At the stiffnecked calvinism of a mere soldier like d'Aubigné, Henri could afford to laugh; the consistent integrity of a statesman like de Mornay was a standing reproach to him. He was not sorry for an opportunity of discrediting his old adherent, and comrade in arms. Such an opportunity was now afforded him.

De Mornay had, unfortunately, written a book. He had always been fond of writing, as well as reading, theology, and he had now employed the leisure which his retirement from politics gave him, in compiling a controversial treatise on the eucharist. The celebrity

[3] Actes de la Conférenceded.

of the author, and the fact that the book was composed in french, would have sufficed to give vogue even to a superficial treatment of the reigning controversy. But de Mornay's book was not a fugitive pamphlet. It was a solid volume of 888 pages 8vo. 'Opus præstantissimum,' said Scaliger[4], 'and better than any of the books of the professed theologians, except those of Calvin and Beza.' We are only concerned with the citations. These amount to nearly 5000, it being a principal object of the book to show that the Roman doctrines of the mass, etc., are not conformable to the opinions of the fathers, or schoolmen. Whatever the merit of the argument, the book made a prodigious sensation. It occupied alike the pulpits and the salons. The clergy were enraged to find, that, though everything else was restored to them, their old power of putting down heretical writings by force was not yet recovered. They were driven to the miserable resource of answering it. They put on Bulenger, one of the king's chaplains; the Jesuits made Fronto le Duc and Richeome, two of their best men, write answers. The strong point of the book was its citations. Romanist errors were to be crushed by showing that they were novelties. But it was soon discovered by hostile eyes, that, in this show of vast reading, lay the weakness of the book. The refutations all took the form not of counter argument, but of exposure of false quotations. The general public, indifferent, especially in France, to mere inexactitude, persisted in regarding the main issue, and these answers did not avail to arrest the effect of de Mornay's book. He himself took a contemptuous tone towards his critics. 'I did not know that "episcopus miniatensis" meant bishop of Mende.

[4] Scaligerana 2ª. p. 161.

I should have known it. I translated "tiburiensis," "tiburtine," and "concilium Sardicense," "council of Sardes." I should not have done so, but!—' The errors, however, were so many and grave that they invited a more éclatant exposure. For this the man was Du Perron.

The part of chaplain-man-of-the-world, a part often played, and still playable, has never been played with more success than by Messire Jacques Davy Du Perron, bishop of Evreux, senior chaplain to the king, member of both councils, grand and privy. He had begun life as a protestant, but went over early, not only into catholicism, but also into ultramontanism, though he kept this in the background during Henri's life. This clever talker went about everywhere saying, that he had not examined the whole of the big book, but that, as far as he had gone, he had discovered 500 false citations in it[5]. He had really spent eighteen months in carefully getting it up, and was only watching for an opportunity to bring his criticism to bear on it. Just at this time de Mornay came to town. He had held himself retired in his government at Saumur, in his dissatisfaction at the catholic policy, into which the court was rushing. He now came to Paris to endea-

[5] Du Perron told Fra Paolo, Life of Father Paul, 1651, p. 61, that he had not only found the Huguenots 'without learning or knowledge, especially in the old fathers, in councils and historians, but he had likewise found them choleric and impatient; whereupon, whensoever he disputed with any of them, his chief aim was by some piquant words, or argutenesse, to put them into choler, and that being done, he was assured to carry the victory.' Cf. with this Casaub. ep. 214. It was out of modesty, thinks the Carthusian d'Argonne, Vigneul Marville Mélanges d'Hist. 1. 64, that the cardinal said this. He must, of course, being a cardinal, have been too strong in controversy for heretics.

vour to recover some part of the sums owing to him. To sting the veteran into sending a challenge to Du Perron, the princess of Orange was employed as picadore. The daughter of Coligny, the widow of William the Silent, a protestant, but who, as grande dame, was equally powerful in catholic circles, offered a convenient channel of communication. De Mornay was made to believe that his personal honour was implicated, and he could no longer hold back. The challenge was sent, and became immediately, says l'Estoile[6], the talk of the town. Henri IV. took it up, and insisted upon having a debate in form at Fontainebleau, where he would be present himself. The matter in dispute was to be adjudicated upon by six commissaries, four catholic, and two protestant. The catholic commissioners were the chancellor Bellièvre, a pronounced ultramontane, François Pithou, de Thou, and the king's physician in ordinary, Jean Martin. A masterly stroke was the nomination, as the two protestant commissioners, of Canaye de Fresne, and Casaubon. The first was known to be wanting a pretext for conversion, and Casaubon, known to be honest, was supposed to be yielding. It was in vain that his protestant friends dissuaded; that the church of Paris sent Du Moulin to him, imploring him to abstain. He listened to de Thou, and his new catholic allies, who were equally urgent with him to consent to act. He went to Fontainebleau; he found Henri IV. going in for the sport with his usual energy. The king could think of nothing else. Difficulties arising about the terms of the disputation, the king spent the

[6] L'Estoile, Registre Journal, p. 312: 'Cette dispute fait l'entrétien de tout Paris; dans les chaires, dans les écoles, chez les grands et chez les petits, on ne parle que de cet appel.'

whole of the third of May, from 10 a.m. till 11 p.m., in talking them over with the parties. He sat up till that late hour to get the final list of Du Perron's passages, and fixed 8 a.m. next morning for the hearing.

Amid many difficulties, one thing was agreed on on all sides, that this was not a dispute about the truth of doctrine, but about the correctness of the quotations in the book 'De l'Eucharistie.' The nuntio had very early got scent of what was going on, and had declared, that the pope would not suffer a doctrinal disputation to be held without his sanction. The insult to the crown of France was allowed to pass, but such a disputation had never been in contemplation. The difficulties were raised by de Mornay, who, feeling that he had made a false step, insisted on impossible conditions. He first demanded that a list of all the 500 impugned passages should be rendered to him, before he went into the conference. He said, it was quite likely that among 5000 or more citations, some might be inexact. If these were condemned, and the conference should not go on to the examination of the whole, it would be taking for granted that the whole 500 were equally faulty. The fact was, he suspected that the bishop, in his usual style of bavardage, had taken a little latitude with the number, and that, though it was certain he had found some mistakes, he could not produce anything like 500. Du Perron, as his adversary expected, declined to give any list of 500, and de Mornay refused the conference, except on that condition. The king, in his ardour, ordered that the inquest into the book should be held, whether the author was present or absent. But this would have ruined the scheme. A condemnation of the book, in de Mornay's absence, would have produced no effect on opinion; it was absolutely necessary that he

should be formally heard in his defence. The wise heads therefore advised compromise, and after some negociation, de Mornay was induced to abide the arbitration on condition that 50 alleged falsities were produced at once. Du Perron, to show his resources, gave in a list of 61. The pourparlers had taken so long, that it was 11 p.m., before the list of 61 errors was handed in to de Mornay, and the hearing was to be at 8 next morning. He had to sit up all night to verify his references, and to borrow for the purpose the necessary books from his adversary, who had brought a waggon load with him from the château de Condé. He was only able to examine 19 of the passages. Upon these he told the king next morning, that 'he was ready to stake his honour and life, that not one would be found false.'

Even 19 were found to be more than enough occupation for one day. Preparations took so long, that the conference could not begin till after dinner, one o'clock. Though the session was continued till nearly 7 p.m., there was only time to examine 9 citations. The scene was the council chamber at Fontainebleau. In the middle, a long table of porphyry; at one end of which sat the king. On the king's right towards the fire, the place of honour, the bishop of Evreux; on the left of the king, in the second place, the sieur deMornay. Down the table, the commissioners; the chancellor first, Casaubon lowest; at the lower end of the table, the reporters. Behind the king's chair, various archbishops and bishops, the princes of the blood, and other seigneurs of quality, catholic and protestant. The room, which could only hold about 200, was filled with spectators. The books were in a neighbouring room, and were brought in as they were required. Short opening addresses were made by the chancellor, the king,

and the bishop of Evreux, with much profession of impartiality, but with a lofty assumption of the truth of the catholic doctrine. The bishop, indeed, had allowed himself to accent the words 'false,' 'falsification,' etc. in such a way as to bring upon himself a rebuke from the king, who desired him 'to abstain from irritating language. They were here to judge a question of fact.'

A question of fact, it may seem, ought to have been easily determinable. But on going into the passages singly, the question was discovered to be by no means so simple as it appeared. The bishop's challenge alleged, 500 'faussetez énormes ... si évidentes que la seule ouverture des livres suffiroit pour le convaincre.' He must have been disappointed, when, after an hour's debate, on the first passage only, he could not convince a body of arbiters, of whom the majority were catholic. On this passage they pronounced a 'non liquet.' The charge of 'false quotation' was an ambiguous charge. De Mornay had cited his authorities in three methods. 1. He had given the whole passage literally; 2. He had abridged the passage in the words of the original; or 3. neglecting the words, he had presented the sense of the author, as he conceived it, in his own words. Where he had employed the second method, that of abridgment, dispute arose as to whether the words omitted were, or were not, material. Where he had adopted the third method, that of rendering the substance of a long passage, it was a still more critical business to decide, if his statement fairly represented the author's meaning. So far was it from being a mere matter of verification of citation, that it was impossible even to confine the disputation to a judi-

cial comparison of the equivalents of propositions. It was impossible but that some truth should be assumed; and the truth of catholic doctrine was not to be called in question.

One instance may serve as a specimen. De Mornay had alleged some sentences of Theodoret[7] in a very abridged form, as follows: 'God doeth that which pleaseth him, but images are made, such as it pleaseth men to make them; they have abodes of sensible matter, but they have no senses, being thus of less worth than insects; and it is right that those who adore them should lose their reason and their senses.' If the judges had had to decide only if the citation thus abridged was a fair abridgment of the original, they must have decided that it was so. But de Mornay had employed the passage as telling against what the protestants called the 'idolatry' of the church of Rome. The bishop charged him with having concealed the fact that Theodoret was here speaking of the 'idols' of the heathen, not of the 'images' of the christians, and of having omitted words which disclosed this purpose. As the protestants everywhere were in the habit of using the scripture denunciations of idolatry, as a condemnation of the use of images in churches; and as everybody knew that Ps. 113, on which Theodoret is here commenting, speaks of the heathen idols, it is impossible to suppose that de Mornay could have either wished to conceal the fact, or thought there was anything to conceal. The decision of the judges was this: 'The passage of Theodoret must be understood of the pagan idols, not of the images of the christians; and that this appeared by words which had been omitted

[7] Theod. Comm. in Ps. 113. Opp. 1. 662.

in the citation.' This decision therefore was not a condemnation of de Mornay for false quotation, which was the point submitted to the tribunal. It was in effect a theological decision, declaring that those passages of scripture in which idols are denounced are not applicable to images in christian churches; deciding, that is, this vexed question of interpretation in favour of the catholic, as against the protestant, expositor. In this exegesis the judges may have been right. Casaubon thought so. But it was not the question they had to decide; yet by concurring in their decision, he allowed it to appear to the world, with the sanction of his name, that de Mornay had been convicted of an 'énorme fausseté' in respect of a quotation.

Casaubon[8] bitterly repented afterwards of the false step he had allowed himself to take[9], especially when he saw the king's letter to the duc d'Epernon, in which he, Henri of Navarre—paraded this stage trick, as a grand 'stroke for the church of God.'

'Mon amy, le diocèse d'Evreux a gaigné celuy de Saulmur, et la douceur dont on y a procédé a osté l'occasion

[8] Casaubon had begun to enter in the 'Ephemerides,' p. 250, a detailed account of the Fontainebleau conference. But he breaks it off at the second contested passage, finding that his memory would not serve him, either as to the sequence of the discussion, or even as to the decision of the umpires. Two blank pages are left, but were never filled in. Meanwhile, we have two authentic reports of the conference, by the respective parties. 1. Actes de la conférence, etc. Evreux, 1601. This was drawn up by the cardinal himself, and printed at his private press. For the use of this rare volume, I am indebted to the library of Balliol college. 2. Discours véritable de la conférence tenue à Fontainebelleau s. l. 1600; inspired, if not authorised, by Du Plessis Mornay himself. See Note A in appendix.

[9] Ep. 214: 'Memoriam illius rei luctu refugit animus.'

à quelque hugenote que ce soit de dire que rien y ait eu force que la vérité; le porteur y estoit qui vous contera comme j'y ai faict merveilles; certes c'est un des plus grants coups pour l'église de Dieu, qu'il se soit faict il y a longtemps; suyvant ces erres, nous raménerons plus de séparez de l'église en un an que par une aultre voye en cinquante.'

This gasconade was printed, and circulated, by the catholic party, to announce their 'victory' in every part of France. Besides the 'grant coup pour l'église de Dieu,' Henri gained by it the humiliation of his faithful friend and servant, Du Plessis Mornay, who retired heart-broken to Saumur. Canaye de Fresne availed himself of it, as a justification of the apostacy he had long meditated, and was rewarded at once by the Venetian embassy[10]. Both friends and foes now made sure that Casaubon would be the next to go. Du Perron closeted him and talked with learned unction on religion. [11]May 12, 1600, 'To-day serious conversation on religion with the bishop of Evreux.' Casaubon was eagerly claimed by the one side, and angrily denounced by the other, as having aided and abetted this great victory of Fontainebleau. Daniel Chamier, Jean Gigord, Pinaud, the leading calvinist ministers at Montpellier and Geneva; Jean Calas, doctor of law, a person of great weight at Nîmes; wrote bitter expostulations on his conduct in the affair, by which he was cut to the heart. The protestants seem to have thought that their champion might have made a few slips among so many thousand quotations, but that Casaubon, like a good advocate, might have brought him through. In vain Casaubon represented that he had been appointed

[10] Eph. p. 720: 'Vel rationes, vel necessitates domesticæ in romanam ecclesiam transtulerunt.' [11] Eph. p. 260.

a judge and not an advocate, and a judge of a literary quarrel, not of a religious controversy, and that the sentence of the arbitrators, in each of the eight passages, was unquestionably right. Technically, his defence of himself was good; substantially, the protestant grievance was just. Though he had only adjudicated on the correctness of de Mornay's quotations, the result had been appropriated as a party victory by the catholics, a victory of truth over error, of honest interpretation over heretical falsification. 'Even your Casaubon is obliged to admit that antiquity is for us,' Du Perron could say.

Casaubon was terrified to find that the report of his apostacy was now [12]'spread through the whole of France.' Nay, it had reached Rome. Whenever any mischief was to be done by tale-bearing or slandering Scioppius was sure to be in it. This creditable person, it seems, had alleged, as one motive of his own conversion, that he had learnt that Casaubon was meditating the same step. To do something towards counteracting the scandal, Casaubon addressed a formal epistle to the protestant synod assembled at Gergeau, asseverating his constancy, and appealing both to his early education and to his daily studies as its sufficient guarantee. The occasion was considered one of such public importance, that a translation was published at Geneva both of Casaubon's letter and the response, for wider circulation in classes in which latin was not read[13]. More than the violent rage of the ministers he

[12] Ep. 232: 'Sparsum de nobis tota Gallia rumorem.'

[13] The original is in latin, in the collected volume of Epistolæ, ep. 232. The french translation has on the title page, Gen. 1601. There is a copy in the Brit. Mus. with a note, in sir H. Wotton's hand, stating that the translator was de Montliard.

feared the cool penetration of Scaliger's judgment. Scaliger would not pronounce an opinion till he had heard all the circumstances. He begs for Casaubon's own account. Not till September 22 did Casaubon even mention the subject to him, and then in as few words as possible, and with reluctance—'hæc scribo prope invitus.' He laments the exposure of de Mornay's weakness, who would never have gone there if he had acted with his usual prudence. He admits that the defeat was complete, clothing the admission in greek to hide it from prying eyes (*τὰ περὶ τὴν παιδείαν ἐλαττώματα*). 'I could weep when I call to mind the sad spectacle of that day, the theatrical triumph over the noble, the talented, the true! There are, who blame the k—. Whenever I have pleaded the cause of our friend to him, his answer has been "it is his own fault. What did I do?"' Scaliger's reproof was conveyed by his silence. He never alluded to the transaction, though continuing a steady correspondence with Casaubon. What his opinion was we know from Vassan's notes of his conversation in 1603. He said[14], 'Casaubon ought never to have gone to that conference; he was the ass among the apes; the only learned man among the judges.'

An impartial writer, de Burigny, thinks Scaliger could not have said this, because de Thou and Pithou were men of merit, and at least de Thou was highly esteemed by Scaliger himself. Both of them were, it is true, men of great reading, even learning. But not in the matter in hand. Their reading was not in the schoolmen or fathers. Neither of them could be considered qualified, upon the spot and without preparation,

[14] Scalig[a]. 2[a]. p. 45: 'Casaubonus non debebat interesse colloquio Plessiæano; erat asinus inter simias, doctus inter imperitos.'

to say, e. g. what was Durandus' real opinion on transubstantiation. They were imperiti, not indocti. They were overborne by the volubility and readiness of Du Perron, whose art of controversy consisted in accumulating quotations[15]. He was, as Casaubon pleads in apology, 'skilled in all the jugglery of the so histic art.'

Casaubon returned to Paris, with his plans still unsettled, uncertain what his occupation, even where his home, was. Madame Casaubon was still at Geneva. The Athenæus hung in the Lyons press, and he found it would be impossible to get it out without being on the spot. As this was the most urgent call, he resolved to go back to Lyons and to see his book published. The summer months of 1600 were accordingly passed at Lyons, and on August 9 he sent to the press the last corrected sheet of this [16]'most wearisome work.'

All this while he had been harassed, not only by the conflict with his publisher, but by anxiety as to his own future. He was, and he was not, in the service of the king. The acts of the conference at Fontainebleau style him 'le sieur de Cazaubon lecteur de Sa Majesté;' a title which may be explained as titular professor, professor not of the university, such as were the professors of the Collège royal. In this capacity he had received money from Rosny, and that more than once; as lately as May 12, 300 escus for journey money for himself, his family, and his books. This he had taken, and yet here he is at Lyons debating if he shall return to Paris at all. De Vic, as envoy to the Swiss confederation, is going to remove from Lyons to settle at Soleure, and wished to take Casaubon with him. It was painful to him to refuse the offer of his benefactor, whose house

[15] D'Aubigné, Mém. I. 147.

[16] See supra, p. 140.

he had been using as his own all these months, to whom, especially to Madame de Vic, he was sincerely attached. But to be permanently settled in the household of a strong catholic must strengthen the suspicions already entertained, and expose him to daily trials. Soleure was a catholic canton, and in the town itself was no protestant temple. This privation of public worship, both himself and Madame Casaubon had ill supported at Lyons, and could not bear to think of making it permanent. These considerations, not to mention the want of a library, and of persons of education, neither of which existed at Soleure, the reproaches he must expect from the Paris friends that he was deserting them, and the obligation he had incurred by receiving money from the exchequer,—decided him to refuse. De Vic was highly incensed, and when he left for Soleure, did so without taking leave of Casaubon. They met again years afterwards, but it does not appear that their former close friendship was renewed.

The die was now cast, and Casaubon returned to Paris, for good or for evil. As he now had his family and books with him, he found it expedient to abandon the post-horse travelling (relais) which he had used before, for the slower, more economical, water conveyance. The 'relais' was one of the excellent institutions of Sully, and one which was so well appointed, that it had been possible for Casaubon in March to reach Paris on the seventh day from Lyons. This implied an average of fifty miles (english) per day; severe riding for a sedentary scholar, in feeble health, unaccustomed to any exercise. Yet he found he could bear it; though as the worst dressed, and least likely looking cavalier of the party he was always put off

with the worst hack[17]. But it was cheap travelling, the tariff being fixed at thirty sous, equal five francs forty cents per day. Sumpter-horses could also be hired for the transport of the traveller's baggage. From Lyons to Paris, however, the Loire offered facilities which, when speed was not an object, made that route generally preferred. You embarked on the river at Roanne, and left it at Orleans. Thus the distance which had to be ridden was reduced to the fifty-four miles from Lyons to Roanne, and the seventy-three miles from Orleans to Paris. The rest of the distance was performed in the coche d'eau, a covered barge, not towed, but impelled by the stream, aided and guided by sails. The miseries of travelling were thus mitigated, but not wholly escaped. The water in the Loire is always low in September, and the neglect of the embankment in the troubles had aggravated the evil. Water conveyance was a security against highway robbery, an incident not unknown on the French roads at the time. Indeed, the post-book printed and sold by the Estienne, for the government, gave it a sort of legitimisation, marking certain points on the Lyons road with a * and adding the note 'here look out for brigands.' The true brigands, however, were those of the custom-house. On arriving at La Charité, the officers of the douane, or péage, insisted that Casaubon's baggage and books were merchandise, and made the captain of the boat pay for them as such, a fraud which cost Casaubon more than four gold crowns. It took seven days to descend from Roanne to Orleans. It was usual to bring to for the night,

[17] Eph. p. 233: 'Pessimis semper usi equis cum meliores τῷ κάλλιον ἠμφιεσμένῳ δῆθεν darentur neque ego recusarem.'

and land at some village in search of bed and provisions. Inns in the villages on the river bank were probably not at any time famous. France and Italy were yet the only countries in which the comfort of the traveller was at all attended to. A generation later, France could vaunt with truth [18] 'la belle commodité des hostelleries où l'on est reçu comme chez soi.' But in 1600, thirty years of barbarism had told cruelly on manners. The system of relais had been only three years in operation, and had not had time to reintroduce civility along the road. To the ordinary causes of the malignity of the 'caupo,' were now added those of religious hatred. When the Casaubons arrived at midnight, at the door of the inn, wet through and hungry, Madame Casaubon in a delicate condition, the cherished daughter Philippa, a frail creature, already drooping into an untimely grave, it was whispered that they were Huguenot. Not a hand was stirred for their service. No food, no fire, no light. Their own bargeman lighted them with a blazing wisp of straw, but not to bed; there was none for them. They might sleep on the floor, perhaps on clean straw, such as Tollius[19], in 1687, found to be still the ordinary bedding in the Westphalian inns. Thus it was, all through the catholic Borbonnais, nor did their entertainment mend till they reached Orleans, where the calvinists, though crushed, were still numerous. Here they were hospitably received in the house of Turquois, refreshed after their fatigues, made a great deal of, and, at last, dismissed with presents of books.

The party arrived at Paris in health and safety, September 13, having been fifteen days on the road.

[18] Guide des Chemins, 1643.

[19] Epp. itin. p. 17.

They were housed by Henri Estienne, a first cousin of Madame Casaubon. One of Robert Estienne's sons had returned to Paris, and to the catholic church. In this instance, however, the ties of blood were not sacrificed to those of party. The publishing business of the Parisian Estienne was carried on by the Patissons, some of the grandsons of Robert I. being concerned in it as partners. Of these Parisian Estienne, La Croix du Maine says, 'néz aux lettres et désireux d'apprendre de père en fils;' and of two of them in particular, Robert and François, that they were learned in greek and latin. We find Casaubon buying a book in order to make it a present to Robert, who he thought ought rather to have given him books. Henri, a younger brother, was not in the firm, but had a place in the exchequer, that of 'trésorier des bâtimens du roi.' Notwithstanding this, he was a man of probity, and had been entrusted with Casaubon's little capital, for which he faithfully accounted. He continued a firm friend of the Casaubons, as long as they lived in Paris, and their children, second cousins, afterwards intermarried. In March, Isaac had been lodged by this cousin of his wife's, and Estienne now took the whole party in, till an apartment could be found[20].

In his choice of a lodging, Casaubon was obliged to consult, not only his small means, but convenience of situation. It might have been supposed that the king's reader, titular professor classical, would have wished to establish himself in the university quarter. There were the libraries, there were the pupils, if he meant to have any. But for various reasons, he chose to settle as far in the other direction as possible, on the court side of

[20] Eph. p. 306: 'Me meamque omnem familiam domi apud se detinuit, et omnibus rebus necessariis fovit.'

the river. Scaliger, who knew France and Paris, and, from Leyden, saw things much more clearly than Casaubon on the spot, had warned him of three evils which he would have to contend with, in his new position. The first of these was the consequence of his own celebrity. Casaubon's wishes were few,—indeed maintenance once secured, they were only two,—books, and leisure to read them. Paris was the place for books. Besides the libraries, there was the rue S. Jacques, according to Coryat, 1608, 'very full of booksellers that have faire shoppes most plentifully furnished with bookes.' 'But,' writes Scaliger[21], 'if you expect to be left alone, you are very much mistaken. You are now too widely known to hope for that unnoticed and inglorious retirement, for which every muse-smitten mortal of us longs. That out-of-the-way corner of Paris, in which you are proposing to bury yourself, will not secure you against the constant invasion of your friends.' The prediction was abundantly verified, as we shall have occasion to see.

During the whole ten years of his Paris sojourn, we shall find Casaubon incessantly scheming to go to some other place. When we review the inconveniences attached to his situation, as a huguenot dependent of a catholic court, we should not be justified in ascribing this inquietude to mere restlessness of disposition. It had its justification, but too well founded, in the sense that his position, depending as it did on the life of Henri IV, hung by a thread. On the other hand, it does not seem altogether without reason, that the biographers charge him with habitual fidgettiness. This appears in his many removals in Paris, chasing comfort, from lodging to lodging, without ever finding

[21] Scal. Ep. 53.

it. Between 1600 and 1607, he changed his abode in the capital seven times.

1. On arriving in the city, March 6, 1600, he was temporarily entertained in de Vic's hotel. 2. March 28, de Vic returned to Lyons, and Casaubon became the guest of his wife's cousin, Henri Estienne. He goes to Lyons, where he stays in de Vic's house, and returns to Estienne's in Paris, September 13. 3. October 25, he at last establishes himself in a lodging of his own. 4. January 24, 1601, he quits this inconvenient lodging, to occupy one in the house of an 'honest man one Georges.' 5. July 17, another removal, to a house found for him by Achille de Harlay, who, says Gillot, 'l'a logé bravement, et assez près de nous.' It was on the court side of the water, and 'far from the library.' His friends had got him among them, but this soon turned out an inconvenience not to be supported, and he shifts again. 6. October, 1604, he goes over the water, to be away from his friends. After some search he finds an apartment in, or attached to, the house of one Coq, a member of the bar, who, having built a large new house for himself, let off a detached portion to Casaubon. This was in the faubourg S. Germain. 7. Finally, he settled himself close to the library, opposite the great convent known as the Cordeliers, on the site of which is now the musée Dupuytren. For this house, which was a large one, he paid the enormous rent of 400 livres[22]. Besides his apartment in Paris,

[22] From the rents paid by Casaubon we may infer that he required a tolerably spacious apartment to house his family and books. We find from Fynes Moryson's Itinerary, that in 1595 a single chamber could be hired for two crowns a month = 72 livres a year = 267 francs at the present day. Itin. pt. 3. p. 135: 'He may have a well furnished chamber at Paris for some two crowns a month.'

he had occasional country quarters; first at Madrid, in the Bois, afterwards at La Bretonnière. And, ultimately, he established himself in a country house at Grigny, on the terres of his intimate friend Josias Mercier, seigneur Des Bordes*.

Each of these removals had its special and sufficient reason; yet all taken together, and along with the discontent with where he is, the incessant sighing to be somewhere else, the cry for 'leisure,' we cannot be surprised that his contemporaries should have thought of Casaubon as a querulous dissatisfied man, and that the biographers should have enhanced this impression still further.

The true account of the matter is, it seems to me, that Casaubon had the nervous sensibility of the hard student. This susceptibility made him unequal to face the fret and worry of life, and especially of Parisian existence. But he shunned the outer world not as trouble, but as interruption; he wanted to be free, not for an epicurean inaction, but for hard work—the work he felt he could do. To do this, he would fain have been released from that he could not do. If he is solicitous, more than we think is dignified, about provision for his own necessities and those of his family, it is not covetousness, it is that with a free mind he may bestow it all on his one object in life. The nomadic Italian humanist of the fifteenth century roved incessantly from court to court, with the aim, which in a scholar is sordid, of bettering his fortunes. Casaubon's removals were dictated by the single desire to secure time for his work.

Achille de Harlay had bestowed a doubtful benefit

* See note B in Appendix.

on him when he had found him a lodging 'assez près de nous.' The diary begins again to echo with groans over time running to waste. He tells Lipsius[23] that he is driven to do his translation of Polybius as the sheets pass through the press, 'from want of time. The greater part of my day is wasted upon wretched nothings in this busy capital, busy because all the men have nothing to do.' Day after day the entry in the diary is, 'This day, too, my friends have made me lose! amici studiorum meorum inimici.' 'Aug. 3, 1601, O woe, O wretchedness, all study is at an end for me, how much of each day do I spend in reading, each day do I say, a whole week is gone, a whole month, and I can hardly get to look at a book.' The wailings of Montpellier are revived, but upon a greater stage. Being a sort of court pensioner, Casaubon too is part of the court. He has to wait upon the king; to wait, a good deal, upon Rosny; upon various grands seigneurs, a little in his own affairs, much in those of his friends. He began to experience the annoyances which await one who is supposed to stand well with men in power. 'This morning my friends ad proceres me rapuerunt negotiorum *suorum* causâ!' 'Put my lord Bolingbroke in mind To get my warrant quickly sign'd, Consider 'tis my first request.' He felt most grateful to the chancellor Bellièvre, who being told one day, that Casaubon was waiting in his ante-chamber, sent him word to go home to his books, and not waste his valuable time in that way; he might state his friend's case by letter. Other duties of friendship besides solicitation

[23] Burm. Sylloge, 1. 366: 'Ad hoc . . . adigit me temporis inopia, cujus pars maxima in hac civitate negotiosissima, otiosorum hominum matre, misere quotidie mihi surreptum perit.'

had to be discharged. De Thou lost his wife in the prime of life, æt. 35, and Casaubon could not but devote much time to sympathy, and condolence. He was with him daily for some time; one day no less than twelve hours. Besides the constant attendance on, and visits from the parisian friends, there are the strangers. Going and coming, every one passes through Paris, every one who reads, wishes to see Casaubon. His house is a shrine of protestant pilgrimage. Hear e. g. the Odcombian, [25] 'I enjoyed one thing in Paris, which I most desired above all things, and oftentimes wished for before I saw the citie, even the sight and company of that rare ornament of learning, Isaac Casaubonus, with whom I had much familiar conversation at his house, near unto St. German's gate within the citie. I found him very affable and courteous, and learned in his discourses, and by so much the more willing to give me entertainment, by how much the more I made relation to him of his learned workes, whereof some I have read. For many excellent bookes hath this man (who is the very glory of the french protestants) set forth to the great benefit, and utility of the common weale of learning.' Nay, long after, in the middle of the 18th century, old learning, and with it Casaubon's memory, was not yet obliterated. In 1755, when Ruhnken spent a year in Paris, there were still antiquaries a few—Capperonier, no doubt—who preserved the memory of where Casaubon had lived for study[26]. Ruhnken did not fail to visit the house, and perhaps

[25] Coryat, Crudities, 1. 42. ed. 1776.

[26] Wyttenb. Vita Ruhnk. p. 67: 'Ædiculam, in qua Casaubonus literis operari solebat, Ruhnkenio monstrarunt Parisienses quidam, qui pauci veterem venustatem retinerent, eoque ventitarent quasi salutatum manes herois de optimo hominum genere optime meriti.'

in company with Musgrave and Tyrwhitt, to salute the manes of the heroic man! The house to which these visits were paid was not that found for him by de Harlay, but the librarian's house, close to Cordeliers, and in the very heart of the pays latin.

Casaubon's aversion to the university had led him, in the first instance, to seek an abode as remote from it as possible. This was the second of the three sources of vexation which Scaliger's experience had pointed out. It is necessary to enter into some explanation of Casaubon's relations to the university of Paris. This cannot be done without touching upon the general condition of the university at this period, circ. 1600 *.

Casaubon had left an honourable, though poor, position at Montpellier, in virtue of a summons which invited him to aid 'in restoring the university of Paris,' and offered him 'la profession des bonnes lettres en laditte université.' When he waited upon the king, in March 1600, Henri repeated more than once [27], with his own mouth, the words of the letter of January 1599, 'Remettre sus l' université.' 'To restore the university,' the phrase requires explanation, for it was not one hazarded by the king on the moment; it was a phrase current at the time, and employed as well by the friends as the enemies of the university. It is the consecrated expression in all the memoirs and documents of the period. The formal petition addressed by the university itself to the parlement of Paris, asks [28] that court 'to set up again the decaying, and almost ruinous,

* See note C in Appendix.

[27] Ep. 208: 'Non semel demonstravit nobis voluntatem suam opem nostram utendi in restauranda hac schola.'

[28] Libellus supplex, p. 31: 'Labentem et pene cadentem academiam erigere.'

university.' The lament of the university is reechoed by its enemy and pushing rival, the jesuits, who founded on this fact of decay their own claims to admission. It was safe then for Casaubon, in the dedication of his Athenæus, to pray the king[29] 'not to permit that university once the shining light, not only of France but of Europe, to lie for ever prostrate.'

The decay thus familiar in men's mouths did *not* mean decay of learning. Such decay had, indeed, taken place. The deterioration of the standard of learning in the university of Paris, circ. 1600, is a striking fact in the literary history of Europe; a fact so manifest to us, that when the writers of Henri IV's reign speak of 'decay,' we are ready at once to interpret their language of intellectual decay. This, however, was not what they meant. It was true, but they did not know it. Decay creeps on a literary corporation, as on the individual, insensibly to its subject.

The university of Paris had been, for some centuries, not only the first university of Christendom,

[29] Ded. Obs. in Athenæum (to Henri IV): 'Patieris, princeps benignissime, jacere æternum tuam illam Academiam, clarissimum quondam non solum Galliarum, sed totius Europæ lumen.' M. Gustave Masson, Bull. de la Soc. de l'Hist. prot. 18. 398, n. refers these words to the collège royal. It is with great hesitation that I differ from one who is the highest english authority on the history of the french reform. But it is clear to me that Casaubon, here and elsewhere, speaks of the university of Paris. And it is very far from being true of the collège royal, that 'Henri IV lui rendit en effet tout son éclat.' The regius chairs continued to be filled, from ecclesiastical considerations, with incompetent persons. The series of greek professors in the years of reaction, was, 1595, George Crichton; 1603, Jerome Goulu; 1611, Nicolas Bourbon; 1619, Pierre Valens; 1623, Pierre de Montmaur.

but the centre of intellectual life and freedom. As long as the scholastic philosophy had been the expression of this life, Paris continued the chosen home of the study, which it had created and developed. But now the intellectual life of Europe had passed into the study of the classics, and into the art and science, which were to spring from that study. For a short time it had seemed as if this new life of the classical renaissance, exiled from Italy, was about to select its home in Paris. But the beginning so auspiciously made by the foundation of the collège royal was cut short by religious fanaticism. The S. Bartholomew, 1572, and its sequel, involved protestantism and classical learning in a common ruin. Ramus owed his death as much to the fact that he was a university reformer, as that he was suspected of calvinism. The days of Budæus, of Turnebus, Lambinus, Danés, Vatable, Tusan, Galland, Ramus, were passed. Their chairs remained, but filled by a nameless generation, of baser metal. How inferior none cared; indeed few knew. The tradition of classical learning was preserved by french scholars, but by Scaliger who was an exile, by Casaubon who was an alien.

The decay complained of then was not decay of learning, but material decay.

In this respect the university of Paris came out of the religious wars a wreck. It had suffered in its property. Its students had disappeared. Discipline was at an end. This was the natural result of thirty years of civil war, a drama including such acts as the massacre of '72, the League, the barricades, the siege of '93. During the siege the attendance had reached the lowest point. One college alone, that of Lisieux,

continued in exercise. To this had come down the 30000 students[30] of which the university used to boast before the troubles. To be without students was to be without means. For the university of Paris, even at a time when its renown filled Europe, was poor, without revenues, without buildings, as a university. Till the foundation of the collège royal by Francis I, none of its teachers had enjoyed an endowment. The teachers depended for payment on their pupils. Six crowns a year, = £2 sterling, was the highest fee usual in the three first classes; in the lower classes it was less; the notoriously poor were excused payment altogether. What property the university had belonged to the colleges. For the university of Paris, like the English universities, consisted of its colleges. But, unlike the colleges of Oxford and Cambridge, the colleges of the university of Paris had but slender endowments, often nothing beyond their buildings. In some colleges 'bourses' were founded, which provided a scanty

[30] The mystical number of 30000 reappearing at this period may seem suspicious, especially as there is no appearance of a register of scholars. It can have been at most an approximative computation. But as such it is confirmed by many contemporary authorities. In the time of Charles VII the number had been estimated at 25000. In 1546, Marino Cavalli (Tommasseo, Relations des ambass. Venit. 1. 263) gives 16000 to 20000 as the number. The larger number of 30000 is the popular estimate for the period preceding the religious troubles Garnier, n. on Ronsard, Œuvres, 2. 1379. Scalig[a]. 2[a]. p. 179: 'Parisiis erant meo tempore 30000 studiosorum, semel armati sunt a Condæo.' Lippomanno (Tommasseo, 2. 605) in 1577: 'L'université est rarement frequentée par moins de 30000 étudiants, c'est à dire, autant et peut-etre plus que n'en ont toutes les universités d'Italie prises ensemble.' Du Moulin, Défense de la foy catholique, p. 53: 'Ou est ceste université de Paris qui avoit plus de 30000 escholiers,' etc. Arnauld, Discours au Roi, p. 65.

maintenance for students (chiefly in theology), through a more prolonged course of study, and enabling them to reach the doctorate.

At the time of which we write, the forty colleges were empty of students. A solitary principal, without fees to pay tutors, or keep house, 'tacitis regnabat Amyclis!' Some colleges were in ruins. Spanish and Neapolitan soldiers of the garrison had installed themselves in the chambers, had burnt the humble furniture for firewood, had stabled their horses in the chapel. Others were invaded by poor peasant families from the banlieu, rendered houseless by the devastation of the siege. Others had been so long untenanted, that thistles and brambles covered the court. In those which had fared best, discipline was entirely disorganised. The 'boursiers,' who may be compared to the scholars and fellows of our colleges, as they were tem. James I, had possessed themselves of what property remained. They were engaged either in dividing the capital among themselves, or in living on the revenue without performing the statutable exercises, and in resisting the attempts of the principal to reduce them to obedience. The authority of the principals, or grand masters, had lapsed from their hands. The regents (= tutors of our colleges) had disappeared with their pupils.

These were, or seemed to be, the consequences of war. But now there was peace, and a prospect of a settled government. It might have been expected therefore that, by the mere operation of social habit, the colleges would fill again, and the university thus restore itself. For it must be remembered that the university of Paris was not merely what we now understand by a university, a place which takes up

young men where school ends. It was at once school and university. It received on its benches the boy at nine years old, and carried him on to the doctorate at thirty-five. It was the great grammar school for the whole of Paris. For Paris, it was protected by a monopoly. No individual was permitted by law to open a school, or hold a class, or to teach publicly or privately, unless he himself had regularly graduated, or been admitted as graduate of the university, and his pupils had become matriculated. Private tutors, living in the family, were bound to send their élèves to the classes of some college.

Under this monopoly, and with the prestige of the university, it might have been anticipated that peace and settled government were all that was required to restore prosperity to the colleges, and that the classes would have been again full. The decay continued, and was indeed so alarming that it forced itself upon the attention of government. Of the three leading constituents of Paris, the small Paris of Henri IV, with its population of some 400000,—out of the three factors of its prosperity, the convents, the court, and the university, one seemed lost. There was a loud call upon the paternal government of Henri IV, which was doing so much for the restoration of the country, to undertake the restoration of 'the schools,' 'les écoles,' as the university was called.

The first step towards remedying the decay, was to ascertain its cause. The ultimate cause stated in general terms, was that the education offered in the schools of Paris no longer met the demands of the day. The statutes by which it was governed, and on which its system was founded, were those which had been framed by the cardinal d'Estouteville, papal legate in

1452. Since that period the classical renaissance had come, and had changed the material, and the form, of education throughout western Europe. But Paris, the leader of fashion, had remained as unchangeable as Salamanca. Philosophy, become a lifeless verbiage, was still the prescribed curriculum of the faculty of arts. That the teaching offered in the colleges of Paris no longer met the requirements of french society, was the remote cause of the falling off of students. This is clear to our eyes, but it was not so to those of contemporaries. Had they seen it as we see it, they would have found the immediate remedy in remodelling the curriculum of arts. But they looked, as practical men always look, for proximate causes. They saw that the schools of Paris were empty, and they asked, Where, then, was the youth of France? It was in the colleges of the jesuits. Many poor families, ruined and disorganised by the war, let their sons go without education in letters. Others, better off, engaged private tutors at home. Richer[31] asserts that the custom of private instruction, scarcely known before, had become very common since the wars. But the vast majority of the middle class youth who formerly peopled the schools of the university were in the colleges of the jesuits. Not in the college of Clermont, rue S. Jacques, which was shut up, but in the provinces—at Toulouse or Bordeaux, Auch, Agen, Rhodez, Perigueux, Limoges, Le Puy, Aubenas, Beziers, Tournon, in the colleges of Flanders and Lorraine, Douai, or Pont-à-Mousson, places beyond the jurisdiction of the parlement of Paris, or even of the crown of France. It is characteristic of the legislative confusion of the period, that the banishment of the society of Jesus from the district of

[31] Vie, p. 38.

Paris had been by arrêt of the parlement of Paris alone, and had never been confirmed by the crown[32]. Lyons loudly demanded a jesuit college, and even the huguenot Lesdiguières, almost king in Dauphiné, was preparing to erect one at Grenoble. Amiens, Reims, Rouen, Dijon, Bourges, were only waiting a favourable opportunity to introduce the jesuits within their walls.

Here, then, was the cause of the 'decay' of the university of Paris. Friends and foes of the university alike agreed in attributing its fallen condition to the rivalry of the new teachers. There were only two methods by which the university and the old colleges could be saved. Either the competition of the jesuits must be put down, or the old colleges must be reformed to be able to compete with the new. The university, of course, preferred the former method. Some of its more judicious friends desired to try the latter[33].

The former method was tried. An arrêt of the parlement of Paris was procured, prohibiting parents from sending their children out of Paris to the jesuit

[32] Crétineau-Joly, 2. 463.

[33] Antoine Arnauld, father of a more famous Antoine Arnauld, in his 'Discours au Roi,' 1594, is the one of the complainants who comes nearest the real gravamen. But even this bold advocate could not utter the simple truth, that the zeal of the jesuits for the 'education' of the young was a mask for their one object,—ultramontane propagand. Arnauld's pleading, and the answer to it by Richeome, 'Plainte apologétique, Bordeaux, 1603,' are only the principal, and semi-official, manifestoes on either side. Richeome goes into the causes of the decay of the university of Paris. It is not due to the jesuit competition, but to the rise of catholic universities in other countries. See p. 52 of the latin translation, Lugd. 1606.

colleges, in or out of France. The order was simply neglected. It was reiterated in 1598, again in 1603; the repetition is but proof enough that it was disobeyed. The jesuit schools overflowed with pupils. In Flanders there was not a town of any consideration in which the whole education of the place was not in the hands of the jesuits. At Douai the logic class alone contained 400. To put down the jesuit colleges in 1600 would have required much greater power than the parlement of Paris ever enjoyed. The jesuits were the rage of the period. The catholic reaction was in full flow, and the society was floated onwards on the crest of the wave. Jesuit confessors, preachers, spiritual directors, were everywhere superseding the older orders. Especially jesuit schools enjoyed the confidence of the public in a degree which placed them beyond competition.

There remained for the university to attempt to reform its system of study in such a way as to enable it to compete with the jesuits. This course was urged by the enlightened section of the parlement, de Harlay, de Thou, etc. It was obvious to say to the university as the king did say[34]: 'If the jesuit schools are full, and yours empty, c'a esté pour ce qu'ils faisoient mieux que les autres.' In this originated the celebrated reform of the university of Paris. The commission obtained for the purpose, on which de Harlay and his friends contrived to get a majority of the tolerant party nominated, framed revised statutes, by which the university was governed for 170 years. These statutes removed some of the more flagrant

[34] 'Discours au Roi,' Lat. trans. p. 24: 'Agite vos, industria vincatis jesuitas . . . atque numero auditorum sine dubitatione vincetis.'

abuses of the university, and partially introduced the new classical curriculum.

But the case was one in which legislative relief could do but little. It was in vain the statutes were changed, and the studies remodelled—the old spirit was unchanged. The classics were there, and might be read, but the spirit of the university remained ecclesiastical and scholastic. Theology still held the first place; the faculty of arts languished. What was wanted was men. The best statutes will not make a university without men in whom is the breath of life. The mere introduction of the classics into the curriculum of arts was nothing without the living voice to teach their use. The treasures of ancient tradition, 'ein lebendiges für die lebendigen geschrieben,' are mere dry leaves to those who have not learnt to love them.

It was therefore the wish of the commissioners that, in order to give impulse to the new studies, some new philological power should be imported into the teaching personnel. Two men at the moment took the lead of classical learning in Europe, Scaliger and Casaubon; and it so happened both were of french nationality. Of Scaliger it was useless to think, for other reasons, but also for one decisive one, it was well known that he would not consent to teach. But Casaubon was not only french, but was actually teaching in a french university. Even had he not been personally known to de Thou, it was inevitable that the commissioners should turn their eyes upon him. That he was intended to be placed in the university, is evident from his patent of appointment, which bore upon its face the royal purpose, 'pour remettre sus l'université.' On the strength of this brief he had relinquished his situation at Montpellier, had come to Paris, had seen the king,

who then repeated his promise of the appointment. He then proceeded to remove his family to Paris, and established himself there. We gradually cease to hear of the proposed professorship, till we find Causabon in the receipt of a pension unconnected with the university, and waiting for the vacancy of the place of sub-librarian to the king, of which he has the reversion.

Notwithstanding that we have both Casaubon's diary and his confidential letters of this period, the nature of this hitch in the business is nowhere explicitly declared. But there is no doubt whatever that it had its source in the religious difficulty.

By the new statutes of the university no person could teach, or take a degree, or even be admitted as a bursar or student of any college, who did not make profession of the catholic religion, apostolic and roman. This clause, not in the old statutes, was introduced into the new code of 1600. These statutes had been drawn by the tolerant party, and emanated from the parlement. It is significant of the state of public opinion, and of the reduced condition of the huguenots, that such a clause should have been forced upon the framers of the statute. Indeed, the exclusion was not sufficiently complete to satisfy the feeling of the Parisians. For though, by the statute, the option of becoming a day scholar was left open to the children of protestants, in fact they dared not avail themselves even of this privilege. A protestant having, in the reign of Louis XIII, claimed his right of being admitted to the lectures of the professors, it required an arrêt of the parlement of Paris to enforce it. The parlement rendered such a decree in his favour. But the necessity of appealing to it is evidence that the right was not habitually enjoyed.

Casaubon then, as a dissident, was statutably excluded from any university appointment. It was still possible to have appointed him to one of the chairs in the collège royal. For these chairs were outside the corporation of the university, and were not regulated by the new statutes. The chair of latin, or 'eloquence,' as it was styled, was not vacant. It was filled by Féderic Morel[35], who has left memorials of himself in numerous greek editions, especially the handsome Libanius of 1606. Morel was king's printer as well as king's professor, and was more equal to the duties of the former, than of the latter, office. In his Libanius the editing is by no means on a level with the splendour of the typography. Ernestine Reiske[36] says of it: 'Morel's text is so full of faults that, perhaps, no other ancient author has been so incorrectly edited.'

But the chair of 'éloquence,' or as we should say, 'latin composition,' was not the one for which Casaubon was particularly fitted. For the chair of greek, however, he was without a rival; by Scaliger's own admission, the first greek scholar in the world. And by a singular chance it became vacant in 1603, just when Casaubon was in Paris, and was deliberating whither he should go for a maintenance. Here was an opportunity, which those who wished to 'restore the

[35] Morel is styled by Goujet, Collège de France, 2. 326: 'Lecteur et professeur royal en éloquence grecque et latin.' By Duval, Coll. royal, Par. 1644, he is placed among the Professors 'eloquentiæ.' This is strictly correct, and it was, perhaps, because Morel occupied himself more with greek than with latin that Goujet uses the epithet 'grecque.' It is an incongruous epithet, as, by the usage of the time, the word 'eloquentia' was appropriated to the professor of latin.

[36] E. Reiske, Libanius, 1791, t. 1. præf.: 'Textus Morellianus adeo scatet vitiis, ut non alius scriptor antiquus mendosius editus videatur.' Cf. Reiske, præf. in Dion. Chrysost.

university' must have gladly availed themselves of. The chair is immediately filled—but not by Casaubon—by Jerome Goulu, a young man, of merit possibly, but also a protegé of cardinal Du Perron. To this young man of twenty-two, the cardinal had the effrontery to give a testimonial in which he declared that 'he knew no one at that time who surpassed him in a knowledge of the greek tongue, and of the authors who have written in it.' Jerome Goulu had the sense not to commit himself by printing a single page of greek, but to justify his appointment in the eyes of the university by his 'zeal for the true religion,' [37] 'he would never suffer, as far as he could prevent it, any calvinist to take a degree.' What else could be expected in a learned university in which Pierre Cayet was regius professor of hebrew, and in which the great question, whether or no wax tapers for the feast of the purification should be distributed to the grand messengers, was sufficient to occupy all minds[38].

Casaubon was not spoken of for the greek professorship. It does not appear that he thought of it himself. At least there is no trace of disappointment in his diary or letters, nor does he anywhere mention the name of the man who had been preferred to him. It was possible to have appointed him a supernumerary. This was not done. Though he was officially styled 'lecteur du roi,' and his friends so addressed his private letters,

[37] Goujet, Coll. de France, 1. 538: 'Il était zélé pour la vraie religion . . . ne soffrît jamais, autant qu'il fût en lui, qu'aucun calviniste s'introduisit dans la faculté.'

[38] Crevier, Hist. de l'univ. de Paris, 7. 48. The point could not be determined theologically on the merits. The distribution was negatived because the finances of the university were not equal to the expense.

he never was connected with the university of Paris. What was done was to assign him a pension, and to go on hinting at the appointment in the university as something to come. We must conclude that the friends who procured the original nomination, which was sent him at Montpellier, reckoned upon his conversion. This would have removed all obstacles, and in no other way could they be removed. It was supposed that Casaubon was not altogether unwilling to do what his best friend, Canaye de Fresne, was doing. All the worldly considerations pointed in that direction, and public opinion had decided that the balance of controversy was heavily in favour of the catholic side of the question. We cannot be surprised that Casaubon's change of religion was considered imminent, that it was repeatedly announced as an accomplished fact. Baronius[39] himself writing from Rome, November, 1603, says that he had heard of it there.

However much his friends may have desired to get Casaubon settled in the university, they could not have done it as long as he remained a heretic. But it began gradually to appear that even if the religious difficulty were removed, Casaubon himself might not be willing to accept the appointment. He began to be no longer so desirous of it as he had been at first. His feeling on the subject was not the fastidious aversion for teaching, as such, which was avowed by Scaliger. Casaubon had no disinclination to lecture. In the winter of 1601–2 he gave, in his own apartment, a course of greek lectures, first on Herodotus, and afterwards on Aristophanes[40]. These were originally intended

[39] Burney MSS. 363.

[40] Ep. 294: 'Amicorum rogatu, in privatis ædibus, ejus (Herodoti) interpretationem suscepissem, horis succisivis.' Two sets of notes,

for some six or seven young friends of his own. But no sooner was it known that Casaubon was giving a greek lecture than his room was crowded by men of distinction from all parts of Paris. Even this gave such umbrage to the professors on the other side of the water, that 'strong reasons' were soon given him which induced him to discontinue. Health was the plea easily[42], and too truly, alleged for his sudden withdrawal from teaching. He never again attempted it, and though enjoying brevet rank as 'regius reader,' from this time he had nothing to do with the university[43].

For as he came to see the university nearer, he discerned that, difficulty of creed apart, it was no place for him. The university of Paris, once the symbol and centre of European intelligence, was sunk into a corporation of trading teachers, whose highest ambition was to compete with the jesuits in a lucrative profession. It was become a school, of which the professors were the masters. They shrank from contact with real knowledge, such as Casaubon possessed, and carried it loftily towards him on the ground of their superior orthodoxy. They shut themselves up with their pupils, before whose wondering eyes they paraded their crude reading. A portrait of a professor of the period has been drawn for us by Casaubon, who never draws upon

taken down by hearers, are still preserved in the Bibl. nat. anç. fonds. 6252. I do not know if either of them is in the writing of Pierre Du Puy. But Rigaltius says (Vit. Putean. p. 14) that the brothers Du Puy, at some time or other, 'heard lectures of Casaubon,' which must have been on this occasion.

[42] Ep. 294: 'Causas graves habui, ut valetudini meæ consulerem, et abstinerem.'

[43] Ep. 687: 'Ego res academiæ hujus non magis attingo, quam vel tu, vel quicunque alius hinc abest ὡς πορρωτάτω.'

his imagination, in the person of Theodore Marcilius. Marcilius had succeeded Passerat as professor of eloquence[44] in the collège royal. A Dutchman, but a catholic, he had been trained in the school of much reading. His learning was prodigious. A small man of wiry frame, and sound health, he had passed ten years, like another Pythagoras, so ran the legend, without quitting the walls of his college, the college of Plessis, in which he had taught a class, before becoming regius professor. He had read so much that Scaliger[45] wickedly said of him that he 'had read himself into ignorance.' But he had also read himself into renown. The hermit of the collège de Plessis was [46]'grand personnage.' When Casaubon first came to Paris, 1599, Marcilius sent him a message, that if he wished to see him he might call upon him. Casaubon meekly complied, and his account of his visit, written to Scaliger, rises, for once, almost into humour. Presenting himself at the college gate, he was bidden to mount to the top of a staircase pointed out by the porter. Here, under the tiles, he found the 'pædagogorum Apollo' in an apartment, the walls of which were lined with pigeon-holes. In these were stored

[44] As Morel was at this time professor 'eloquentiæ,' there must have been two co-ordinate professors of the same subject. Or Morel may have been 'professor emeritus.' Goujet, Hist. du collège de France, is much more full than Duval, but is wanting in exactness, as well as in appreciation of his own matter.

[45] Scal. to Cas., Scal. Epp. p. 198: 'Quum animum remittere volo, assumo in manus scripta illius qui amphitheatrum Martialis, et Persium, nuper *κατακέχοδεν*. nam nunquam suavius rideo, quam cum aliquid ejus lucumonis video. sæpe mirari soleo illum tantum scriptorum legisse, ideo ut nihil sciret . . . et tamen habet admiratores. habeat . . . sed Parisienses.'

[46] Scaligerana 2ª. p. 151.

away the fruits of his vigils, not in one, but in all, departments of ancient learning. There were commentaries on the civil law; treatises on roman antiquities; translations of the principal Aristotelian treatises. What he most prized were the notes of his philological lectures, on the greek and latin classics, which had been accumulating during his twenty years' teaching, first at Toulouse, then at Paris. He informed Casaubon that the trifles he had hitherto edited, such as the 'Aurea carmina,' and the 'Martial,' were the follies of his youth, and that what he should publish henceforth would be of a very different order, but that they would not see the light till all the learned of the day had printed their blundering attempts. It was no secret to Casaubon who were meant. He had been told that Marcilius was accustomed to spice his lectures with contemptuous flings at Scaliger and himself, and to correct their mistakes for the edification of his class.[47] The removal to Paris, which brought Casaubon nearer, made the man of real learning more offensive to the charlatan. Marcilius redoubled the bitterness of his invectives. He certainly succeeded in provoking irritation. Casaubon, who was submissive to the arrogance of Scaliger, could not brook the presumption of Marcilius. His language to his correspondents about Marcilius displays a passionate displeasure, which seems disproportionate to its object. Casaubon, indeed, was extremely thin-skinned. Had he been the butt of a tenth part of the obloquy which Scaliger had to bear, it must have killed him. Marcilius' insults drew from him expressions of anger more contemptuous than he exhibits towards any other person whatever. Nor was the antipathy confined to private letters. Casaubon

[47] Cas. ep. 199.

takes occasion, in various of his notes[48], to make sarcastic allusions to an ignoramus whom he does not name. To Scaliger he writes that he [49]'has been reading the stuff which a Parisian schoolmaster, the most arrogant of all living two-legged creatures, has blurted out about Persius. Before I took the book up I knew I was not to expect great things from the buffoon, but the ignorance, the stupendous asinity of the man, is beyond anything I had conceived.' It could not but gall him to see [50]'this discreditable pretender drawn from his obscurity and placed in that chair from which Turnebus, Mercerus, and other eminent men have in old time delivered oracles. Happy you who see not these things.' Marcilius, from the regius chair, continued to bespatter Casaubon[51], till he was informed that the king had expressed his displeasure. He then changed his tone, and sent a Catullus of his editing (the Catullus of 1604), with a message to Casaubon, that he was now sorry for having assailed him, and wished to be friends with him. Casaubon, who was as placable as he was inflammatory, accepted the apology, and sent Marcilius word that he had only to speak, as he ought to speak, of those who had done letters good service, and he should find a friend in Casaubon.

Casaubon's time in Paris was being spent very little to his own satisfaction. 'O jacturam temporis!' records the diary of July 23, 1602. On July 24 same complaint: 'Busy the whole day, yet very few hours

[48] See among other passages, Hist. Aug. Scriptt. (ed. 1603) p. 565: 'Commodum offertur mihi musteus adhuc liber pantosophomastigis illius magistelli,' etc.

[49] Ep. 370. [50] Cas. to Scal. ep. 370.

[51] Gillot to Scal. ep. franç. p. 101: 'Ce fol insensé, arrogant, de Marsilius a escrit contre M. Casaubon des injures de harangère.'

well spent.' On the 25th he writes to Hoeschel[52]: 'A thoroughly wretched life it is that I lead here; not among my books, but among engagements of I know not what kind, which sometimes do not allow of my opening a book from morning till night. Life cannot but be bitter to me, when I am thus robbed of my one solace. I have now been returned home fifteen days, and have hardly had as many hours' reading, all the rest of the time has been taken from me by friends, or by the discharge of social duties.'

His day was then only spent to his satisfaction when he had had it for unbroken study from early dawn.

One serious drain upon his time, which he felt sorrowfully, but did not dare to complain of, was attendance at court. From time to time Casaubon waited on the king at the Louvre, a duty which was expected of all who belonged to the court, in which category the 'lecteurs du roi' were included. He was always received with favour, sometimes, as he notes, with marked distinction. 'June 19, 1602: The king, as usual, received me most graciously, and called me, in jest, "an accomplice of Biron." Then becoming grave, he said, (I give his very words), "Vous voyez combien j'ai de peine afin que vous estudiez surement."' When Casaubon, in the same year, meditated removal from court, the king caused it to be intimated to him that he desired his stay, and gave him[53] 'no small testimony of his favour.' On more than one occasion Henri repeated his intention of appointing Casaubon custodian of the library, whenever it should become vacant. July 5, 1601, the diary records 'a day lost in attendance at court. Yet perhaps it was worth something to have

[52] Ep. 298. [53] Ep. 274.

received so marked a token of the king's favour.' What the token—'non obscurum testimonium'—was, we learn, this time, from a letter of Gillot to Scaliger,[54] giving an account of this very interview. 'The day before yesterday the king gave Casaubon a hearty reception, reproaching him with having wished to leave him, and telling him "he would never find so good a master who would love him as he (the king) did. That he intended to place him in his library, and that the present librarian could not live another year. That he should then look up his fine books, and tell him what was in them, for he himself didn't understand things of that sort." In a word, he treated Casaubon with marked distinction. Yesterday Casaubon supped with me, when I encouraged him in his resolution to remain among us, telling him there were still many of us who were his admirers, and honoured his virtue, and that he would want for nothing. I feel sure that he will make up his mind to stay. Indeed, do what we will, we cannot, and do not, deserve to keep him. I hardly think France is worthy of such a man, whether one regards his learning or his character. I never part from him myself without feeling the better for his company.' It should be remembered that the writer was a catholic, and, though a counsellor in the parlement, held a canonry in the Sainte chapelle. Henri's favour towards Casaubon was founded on a personal liking, and was maintained in spite of Casaubon's protestantism. Henri IV. was not one of those cradled princes who can know of men only what they are told, and who thus become the sure prey of sycophants and partisans. Early and long training in the equal school of camps had made him a shrewd judge of

[54] Ep. franç. p. 105.

character. He was, says Dupleix[55], 'autant habile qu'homme de son royaume pour juger de l'humeur, et du mérite des personnes.' Frank and sociable, he liked to talk with Casaubon; not as James I. did, of 'classics, fathers, wits,' but he heard from him of Geneva, of Montpellier, of the grievances and wishes of the calvinists. He took Casaubon's learning for granted, but appreciated the sterling worth of the man. At times he was angry at Casaubon's 'obstinacy;' at times he understood that there was a depth of conviction which could not be reached by the trivial topics of controversial rhetoric.

Standing thus high in the royal favour, and with these repeated promises of the succession to the library, it was to be supposed, that, whenever the vacancy should occur, Casaubon would step into the place as matter of course. The promises indeed were not confined to mere words. In November, 1601, a patent was issued to Casaubon, in regular form, appointing him to the office of librarian, though with the proviso that the present holder, Gosselin, should not be disturbed. The salary, however, named in the instrument, and which was to be in addition to his pension, was to commence at once. Casaubon, with great delicacy, never mentioned to Gosselin that he was in possession of such a patent. This was all the more creditable, as Casaubon was perpetually being thwarted in his natural curiosity to explore the treasures of the library, by the morose temper of the custodian. 'I knew his way,' writes Scaliger[56], in 1605, 'forty-four years ago; too ignorant to

[55] Dupleix, Hist. de France, quoted by Crétineau-Joly, Hist. de la comp. de Jésus, 3. 36.

[56] Scal. ep. p. 273.

use the library himself, too jealous to allow others to use it.'

Scaliger's reminiscence carries us back to 1561, the commencement of Gosselin's librarianship. He was appointed in 1560, and held the office four-and-forty years. Jean Gosselin was not an ignorant man, at least only relatively so. He was a mathematician, and author of several treatises in that department[57]. He was well known in the literary society of the former generation, and is celebrated among the wits of the day by de la Boderie, in la Galliade (1578), 'Gosselin, ornement de sa ville de Vire, etc.' But, of the greek and latin MSS, of which he was keeper, he was, likely enough, ignorant, and probably threw impediments in the way of the young and impetuous Gascon, who rushed upon the king's MSS. as he afterwards did upon those of Cujas at Valence, [58] 'M. Cujas disoit que j'avais dépucellé les MSS.' If Gosselin was ignorant of the contents of his books, he was their faithful custodian, through risks and adventures far more serious than those which our royal library went through in the time of the Commonwealth. Gosselin was now in the imbecility of extreme old age, but still clutched his treasures with desperate grip. He was near one hundred years old, and might have lived on, but for accident.

In November, 1604, the poor old man came to a melancholy end. Left by his attendant sitting alone before the fire, he was found in the morning burnt to death, having fallen out of his chair in helpless

[57] A list of his publications is given by Frère, Manuel de bibliogr. normande, 2. 32. Some account of Gosselin is in Bulletin du bibliophile for 1871.

[58] Scaligerana 2ª. p. 60.

decrepitude[59]. The post of librarian thus vacant, why did not Casaubon immediately come forward and claim an appointment which was already his own?

Legal instruments and royal nominations were facts of weight, but in France at this time there was another power which was weightier still[60]. The vacancy in the library had occurred at a moment when the ultramontane flood had risen higher than ever. The furious fanaticism of the League was indeed out of fashion, but it had been followed, not by a reaction, but by a more cool and calculating political catholicism. The terrorism of the S. Bartholomew had done its work, and it was now replaced by the system of political exclusion. In vain the edict of Nantes declared protestants admissible to all offices and employments, it was a mere paper law which could not be enforced. Exclusion was the mot d'ordre. For any protestant who wanted a career there was only one way open—'se faire catholique.' The power of the clergy, and the popularity of the religious orders, which had been distinctly seen to totter fifty years before, was now higher than ever. Swarms of orders, new and old, male and female, recollets, feuillants, teresians, capucins, barnabites, settled down upon the fair face of France. The grand affair of 1603 had been the recall of the jesuits. To get the jesuits back to France, and to give the king a jesuit confessor, these were the objects of the highest European

[59] Ep. 428: 'Relictus a famulo decrepitus senex ante focum, semiustulatus et vitæ expers postridie est inventus.' Compare with this Lestoile, Reg. journal. suppl. p. 380, ed. Champollion. Scaligerana 2ª. p. 97. The attendant was suspected of having hastened his master's end, but, it seems, without grounds.

[60] Ep. 256: 'Quod si non obstaret pontificis Romani respectus, pridem factum esset, ut regis jussu publice doceremus.'

statesmanship. In 1603 they were achieved. Henri, who had contracted a second marriage at the age of forty-seven, and had supplied the place of Gabrielle with Henriette, was besides visibly enfeebled by an obstinate disorder, and yielded to the pressure brought to bear upon him. Father Coton was passed upon him. By his insinuating address, by an adroit mixture of terrorism and meekness, he completely tamed the prince. Henri was charmed with him, had never had any confessor like him. Fascinated himself by the address of the jesuit, he supposed others must yield to the charm. Unfortunately he ordered Coton to try his powers upon Casaubon. By the king's command Casaubon waited upon the jesuit in the library. But Casaubon, who was occasionally seriously embarrassed by the learned objections of Du Perron, was not in any danger from the honeyed tongue of Coton, in whom Gillot[61] found that 'though he talks well, he has d'instruction peu ou point.' Coton's failure exasperated him, and he resolved that Casaubon should not have the library. The danger was dwelt upon of committing the custody of the books to a heretic, who might make an ill use of what he found in them. They told Henri that Lipsius was the most learned man of the age, and should be invited from Flanders to be librarian. Casaubon is not only heretic, but an 'obstinate heretic,' i. e. one that knows the truth and hardens himself against it, and has not the excuse of ignorance.

The king took to the suggestion of Lipsius' name. 'I have been told,' he said one day to Thiou des Portes, 'that Lipsius is the most learned man of the age.' Des Portes immediately named Scaliger, affirming that Scaliger possessed more knowledge of all sciences and all

[61] Ep. franç. p. 435.

languages than Lipsius had of any one. Henri replied, 'They have never told me that.' Des Portes ventured to say that 'after Scaliger, Casaubon deserved to be included in the very small number of the truly learned,' and added adroitly, 'they are both Frenchmen.' The lawyers also pointed out to the king the danger of the precedent if an appointment once made were cancelled on a religious ground. This the church party met by a proposal to call the young Grotius from the Hague, in order to make it appear that the objection to Casaubon was not merely his protestantism. When Casaubon was told of this manœuvre, he only remarked 'that if Grotius would be pleased to come, he (Casaubon) would be well pleased to see him there.'

The matter being thus in suspense, Casaubon's friends thought that his best chance lay in a personal application to the monarch. They built upon the public favour with which he was always received, and the esteem which Henri had always been accustomed to express for the threadbare scholar. As long as the king was absent, Casaubon sturdily refused to make any suit to the secretary, Villeroy, or to move in the matter at all[62]. But when Henri returned to Paris from the Sedan expedition in December, Casaubon could not refuse to pay his respects among the rest, and, as assistant in the library, to inform him of Gosselin's death. This he did simply, without reminding Henri of his promise, or proffering any solicitation for himself. He did not fail to observe the unwonted coldness of the king's manner, and withdrew in the belief that the day of his favour was gone by. Great, then, was his as-

[62] Ep. 371: 'Securus in museo expecto quid jussurus sit, cujus est imperium (i. e. the king), nam ut de ea re verba cuiquam faciam, nemo a me impetraverit.'

tonishment when, three days afterwards, the king's private secretary came to him with his appointment to the royal library, ready made out, and, what was more, with an augmentation of 400 livres to his former salary. The influence was that of de Thou, an influence never exerted but for good, and though just now minimized, yet never wholly destroyed even in the worst times. In June, 1605, Gillot[63] writes to Scaliger, 'We are now completely under the loyolite yoke. There is a general rush into their camp. Father Gossyp (Coton) is the greatest person that ever was. We breathe only Rome, "et Gallia submittit fasces." The first president (de Harlay) has been ill of a fever, and many an ear was pricked up thereupon. God preserve us from such a change; for he, with our de Thou, is the only one who has still some hold over the helm, and still makes head against a general wreck.' The welcome addition to his salary was the unsolicited act of Villeroy[64]. Villeroy, though ex-leaguer, Spanish, a corrupt intriguer who was for an exclusively catholic policy, was generous in money matters, and not with the public money only, and now threw a scrap to a starving scholar. Scaliger expressed himself[65] highly gratified, not only with Casaubon's success, but with the check given to the jesuit party, who had used all their influence against him. At the same time, he warned his friend that the same interest which had worked to keep him out would be incessantly plied against him,

[63] Ep. franç. p. 416.

[64] Villeroy befriended Casaubon to the last. Henri IV's discriminating character of this old servant of the crown may be read in the Pseudo-Sully, 7. 224, among other things, it is said of him: 'Il a le cœur généreux; n'est nullement adonné à l'avarice.'

[65] Scal. Epp. p. 272.

and therefore his position would call for great circumspection.

The office which the dominant party had thought it worth while to dispute, and which had been variously intrigued for by others underhand, by interest, and by money[66], was in value 400 livres, about £35 sterling, per annum. It was the pay of a professor in a provincial university—a classical, not a law professor, these got much higher stipends,—or a principal regent in a provincial college.

The official title was 'Garde de la librairie du roi,' 'keeper,' in fact, sub-librarian under the 'Maître de la librairie.' The maître at present was de Thou, a position which had enabled him, at the last moment, to exert a deciding influence in the appointment of the garde. The office of maître had been created by Francis I. in 1522. It was intended to be, and had been hitherto regarded as, a post of dignity, the highest literary prize in the realm. It carried the salary of a household officer, 1200 livres, about £110 sterling, and imposed no laborious duties. The services of personal attendance and administration were discharged by the keeper.

The library was not, in its original destination, a public library; it was the king's library, and had been formed for the use, or the pride, of the monarch. It is an interesting fact in the life of the unfortunate Peter Ramus, that he was the first person to suggest that the books should be removed to Paris, to be made useful to the learned. The primitive nucleus of the collection had been formed in the château at Blois. Francis I. had the books at Blois removed to Fontainebleau, and may be considered the real creator of the library, which is

[66] Cas. Ep. 376: 'Cum alii gratia, alii pecunia, rem tentarent.'

now the bibliothèque nationale, by the vast collections which he caused to be made. In the reign of Charles IX, books were not in demand at court, and Ramus' proposition to convert the king's library to the use of the public was graciously acceded to. The collection was removed to Paris, not to the Louvre, but to some room in the neighbourhood of the colleges, though the precise situation is not ascertainable. Like our own royal library during the reign of the puritans, the library of Francis I. ran great dangers during the league. Gosselin, who had come with it from Fontainebleau, was in charge of it all through the troubles, and has left a short account of its escape[67]. Casaubon used to chafe at Gosselin for impeding his free access to the books, but Gosselin's experiences are his sufficient excuse. He thanks God for having given him grace to save this library several times from dispersion or ruin, and notably during the last troubles, when some of the imps of the league would have forced themselves into the place under colour of ordering it after their fashion. Gosselin, thinking that they would have more liberty to do mischief if he were there, than if he were out of the way, withdrew to the royalist head-quarters, at S. Denis, fastening the door of the library with a strong lock, and besides with a padlock attached to a stout bar of iron on the inside. So effectually had Gosselin secured the door that de Nully was unable to force it open, and was compelled to break a hole in the wall to get in. He was there several times with his folk, and each time they were seen to retire carrying pretty big

[67] Gosselin's own narrative has been found recently. It is a memorandum written on the first page of a MS, La Marguérite of Jean Massue. It has been printed in Bulletin du bibliophile, 1871, p. 415.

packages away under their cloaks. *Barrabas* (Barnabas) Brisson, who however might plead that he knew how to use books, more decently borrowed a great many. After his unhappy end, his widow sold them for a mere song. After the surrender of Paris to Henri IV, Gosselin returned to find the havoc which had been committed. But the perils of the library were not yet at an end[68]. A claimant arose for the whole collection in the person of the cardinal Bourbon, who said that Henri III. had given it to him. It required an interposition of despotic authority on the part of Henri IV. to vindicate it as an heirloom of the crown. He sent the claimant word that 'he (the king) could take better care of it than could the cardinal, and that the cardinal was rich enough to buy himself another.' After a series of adventures of this character, we can hardly wonder if Gosselin forgot everything except the safe custody of his treasures.

When the jesuits were expelled from Paris, 1595, the college of Clermont, rue S. Jacques, was appropriated for the reception of the books, and the revenues of the college, not very considerable, were laid out in binding. De Thou obtained a rich accession for the library in the books of Catherine de Medicis. These, chiefly MSS, many greek, gathered in Italy, had belonged to marshal Strozzi. Catherine, who had sumptuous tastes, had bought the collection from Strozzi's heirs. It is hardly necessary to say they had not, at her death, been paid for. As she did not leave anything, [69] 'pas même un seul sol,' the creditors seized the books, or would have done so, but for the abbé de

[68] Sylloge scriptorum, Thuana, p. 200.

[69] Brantome, I. 85.

Bellebranche, who saved them till they also were claimed by Henri IV, and united with the royal books in the college of Clermont in 1599. Here the library remained from October 1595 to 1605. In this year, the first of Casaubon's librarianship, the jesuits recovered their college, and would have been well pleased to keep the books too. They said they had lost a good library by confiscation, and would have to form another. But de Thou and Casaubon were able to save the books, though they had to evacuate the building, and they removed their treasures to an empty hall in the great convent of the Cordeliers, famous in 1790, and which occupied the site of the present école de médecine[70]. It was close to the porte S. Germain, and to the city wall. After Casaubon, the guardian lived in the library. But it was not possible for a married man to live within the enceinte of a Franciscan convent, and Casaubon had to hire an apartment close by; 'vis-à-vis des Cordeliers,' his letters are addressed. This was the seventh removal that he had undergone in less than seven years since his first arrival in Paris. He complains that now he could no longer find his own books, he had so often placed and replaced them in a different arrangement. This house, outside the porte S. Germain, and therefore in the faubourg, not in the city, is the house which was remembered in after times as Casaubon's house[71]. For this house he says he paid 500 livres.

It must have been with peculiar gratification that Casaubon, who all his life had been thirsting for books, found so rich a treasure all at once at his uncontrolled disposition. In greek MSS. the king's library was then,

[70] The musée Dupuytren stands on the site of the refectory.

[71] See above, p. 171.

as it still is, second only to the Vatican. The actual number of MSS. in the united libraries was considerable; but as there was no complete catalogue, and no numeration, the quantity was as usual exaggerated by the anticipations of the learned world. A catalogue, which was compiled by Casaubon's successor, Rigault, in 1620, informs us that the total of the Fontainebleau collection was upwards of 4700 MSS. But of these the greater part were modern papers, charters, records, and state documents. At least 260 of these were greek MSS, for the old catalogue of Vergecio (circ. 1550) vouches for that number. To these must be added Catherine's books. These numbered 4500 volumes, of which 800 —the Strozzi collection—were MSS, greek, latin, or hebrew. But the interest excited by the deposit was occasioned not so much by the number of volumes, as by the fact that the MSS. had been only partially examined. During a librarianship of forty-four years Gosselin had not accomplished the task of making a catalogue. If we are disposed to think that this lâches substantiates Scaliger's charge of ignorance, and that Gosselin did not catalogue the MSS. because he could not, we may remember that he was no longer young when he was first appointed, that the books were immediately removed from Fontainebleau to narrow rooms, that they were shifted and shifted again, that these years were years of trouble and confusion, especially in the capital, and that the keeper received a mere pittance for his services. Casaubon, himself acting librarian for six years, and titular for more, does not seem to have attempted a catalogue, though he complained much before he succeeded to the office of the imperfections of that which existed.

The expectation of the learned as to the find which

awaited them was unlimited. The demand came not from France, sunk in religious and political party, but from foreign countries. Lying in the heart of the colleges and convents of Paris, the classical treasures were unheeded by, and were unintelligible to, their occupants. Féderic Morel, regius professor, alone continued to issue from his press a series of greek tractates transcribed or edited from the MSS, far too rapidly to be done with any care. It was from Leyden and from Germany that the requisitions poured in. Scaliger, of course, was among the most urgent. But Scaliger now, æt. 64, was weighed down by his vast work—the Eusebius—and asked only for what immediately bore upon the task which he sometimes feared he should not live to complete. One of Casaubon's first cares was to send off to Leyden some excerpta of a greek chronologer *, which he had discovered, and thought might be of use. Scaliger immediately recognised portions of book I. of Eusebius' Chronicon, and considered it the most valuable contribution which had been made to his Thesaurus temporum—[72] 'the Minerva of Phidias among the other sculptures.' Besides Scaliger he supplied Heinsius at Leyden, Gruter and Freher at Heidelberg, Hoeschel at Augsburg, and Savile at Eton with materials or collations for their publications. He complains much of the consumption of time in these friendly offices, though he now began to have the important assistance of Charles Labbé. Labbé was one of the troop of young scholars formed in the school of Scaliger, who, while refusing the professor's chair, sowed the seeds of learning wherever he came in contact with

* See note D in Appendix.

[72] Scal. epp. p. 292: 'Fragmentum illud τῶν σταδιονικῶν, quod nobis liberalitas tua impertivit, est ut Minerva Phidiæ in nostro opere.'

a capable mind. Labbé—[73] docte et infatigable—transcribed for his master, in a greek hand of such exquisite neatness that it surpasses, in this respect, that of the master himself, while Casaubon writes a straggling greek[74], which can have given him no satisfaction in the transcriber's weary task.

But of this work he did little. While Scaliger imposed upon himself the task of writing out whole books—[75] 'books which are only lent me for a short time, syriac, arabic, hebrew,' and that at 65, when the 'labour will profit only those who shall possess my library after me,' Casaubon, though he noted much, copied little. The longest excerpt remaining among his papers is a portion of Leo's Tactica, transcribed in the country in the vintage season of 1609. The use he made of the library was one, which no librarian ought to make—it was to read the books. Casaubon, indeed, was what he was by his incessant reading, seconded by a capacious memory. Early in life he had made his own all the classical remains accessible in print. He had pined in the south because he could not get books, though he borrowed from all his friends who had them. Exhaustive reading of the greek and latin writers was what he proposed to himself. When he first came to Paris, not knowing how short his stay might prove, he made the resolve to read those books which he could not hope to get elsewhere[76]. His written memoranda as well as his published notes bear witness to the eagerness with which he devoured the royal MSS[77].

[73] Scaligerana 2ª. p. 134.

[74] Scal. 2ª. p. 45: 'Il a une très mauvaise lettre grecque.'

[75] Scal. Ep. p. 299. [76] Eph. p. 340.

[77] Eph. p. 339: 'Libris nostris renunciamus, solis illis operam daturi,

It will not therefore surprise us to find that he did nothing for arranging or cataloguing, hardly anything for publishing new texts. The librarian who reads is lost. There was now at his disposal a rich mine of greek anecdota. But he left the glory of communicating these to the world to Meursius and Morel. His own pleasure was to read them; who liked might print them. For he has no jealousy, none of that desire of keeping things for himself which used to govern all libraries, and still lingers, if report be true, about the Vatican. When any correspondent asked for any book, he tried to find it, but he never made any thorough and complete investigation, once for all, of what was there, much less a catalogue. In 1608 Hoeschel applied to him for MSS. of Arrianus. Though Casaubon had then been nearly four years in full possession of the library, he did not know if there were any MSS. of Arrianus, but would look[78]. He found, on searching, at least two. As late as 1607, in reply to Scaliger's urgent entreaty for any fragments of a chronological nature, he says he will have a good search through all the cases. He began to have access to the books, though restricted access, in 1599. From 1605 to October 1610, the library was wholly at his disposal, yet the only anecdotum he publishes is Æneas Tacticus[79]. The selection of this author was not determined by the value of the royal library codex. What he found there was only a modern sixteenth century transcript by Vergecio, and Casaubon had in his own hands a much older MS, which had been lent him by Bongars.

quos alibi nancisci non possemus, hic possumus ægre quidem, sed tamen possumus. hujus generis sunt libri regiæ bibliothecæ.' [78] Ep. 607.

[79] Commentarius tacticus et obsidionalis, in the Polybius of 1609. It is the Ed. Pr. of the text of Æneas.

A large part of these years was given to his edition of Polybius. This again was a choice not guided by the merit of the royal MSS. It was an old design of Casaubon to edit Polybius, an intention which he had announced as far back as 1595, and indeed had publicly pledged himself to in the first Suetonius[80]. Here again he only used from the royal collection a modern MS[81], again one of Vergecio's copies, and indeed nothing more than a transcript, made in 1547, from the printed text of Opsopæus' edition, though Casaubon did not know this. This neglect of good things would be more amazing if it were the fact that cod. reg. 1648 (A. Schweigh.) was actually among Catherine's books, and that Casaubon had not found it out.

Besides his Polybius, and Æneas Tacticus, he prints during this period two inedited pieces, but neither of them from royal MSS. One was the 'Inscriptio Herodis,' which he printed from a copy sent from Rome to Gillot by Christophe Du Puy; the other was an epistle of Gregorius of Nyssa from a MS. of Nicolas le Fevre. All this while he had untold treasures under his hand, e.g. the 'De administrando imperio' of Constantinus Porphyrogeneta, which he names himself as worthy of publication by royal command[82]. He himself was content to have read it. He describes his own feelings among the MSS. when he writes to Saumaise, who was revelling in the treasures of the Palatine, yet unplundered, that [83]'he must be suffering the torment of Tantalus, not being able to read all the books at once.'

[80] Sueton. Tib. cap. 65, and ded.

[81] Cod. reg. 1649. [82] Præf. in Polyb.

[83] Ep. 543: 'Videor mihi videre te in mediis aquis Tantalo similem; neque enim potes omnibus perfrui Palatinæ bibliothecæ divitiis.'

When Casaubon succeeded to the care of the library he was only forty-six. Though premature infirmity had already begun to undermine his strength, he had still an enormous appetite for reading, but his taste was gradually taking a direction which was leading him away from greek. He did not conceive that he was renouncing old studies to take up with new. He continued to labour at Polybius, and expended much time and research on his edition. But his leisure hours, as he calls them, were given to controversial reading, and his interests were passing over, in spite of himself, to this, the fashionable, topic.

It has been already noticed that Casaubon suffered, all his life, from the disease of double-mindedness. He was a man of a divided interest—ἀνὴρ δίψυχος. While he was reading classics, he was always wishing to be reading the fathers. While editing Athenæus he was longing to have done with it, that he might give himself to christian antiquity. The literary gossips have put upon this fact the vulgar interpretation, that he was fluctuating in his choice between the rival churches. The truth is, he was staying himself in a learned equilibrium between opposite fanaticisms—the biblical and the ecclesiastical. In order to hold his own in the midst of the fray, he was compelled to bestow no little attention on the facts involved. He had to articulate the argument, and, against such an adversary as Du Perron, to defend it by citation from the authoritative books. Thus the kind of reading which he secretly liked was stimulated by an external necessity, while the study of the classics had to be sustained in the face of total neglect on the part of the public. The inward strife of conflicting tastes is common to all gifted natures in youth. But it is

usually composed long before mid-age by a deliberate decision, which selects for good one goal. That youthful state of mind which Donne[83] describes himself as suffering from, 'an hydroptique immoderate desire of humane learning and languages,' either dies out, or takes some specific direction, before forty. The circumstances into which Casaubon was thrown by his position in Paris maintained a life-long distraction between two tendencies.

We have seen the assault upon his religious convictions commence with his arrival in Paris in 1599. When it was found that the citadel was not carried by a coup de main, it seemed at first that the attacking party retired in disgust. The king was angry, and looked coldly upon him. Why did not Casaubon fulfil the condition on which he had been brought from Montpellier? They had made so sure of his conversion that they told the duchesse de Bar, the king's sister, that it was quite settled. This Casaubon contradicted in form, obtaining an audience from the high lady for the purpose[84]. This was too bad, not only to persist himself, but to spoil the game with Madame. Casaubon's coming over would bring many others with him; but he could not be allowed to go about confirming other heretics in their obstinacy. He must be dismissed in disgrace. Casaubon had made up his mind that so it must be. Suddenly the policy of the jesuits altered. They are all smiles and blandishments. Casaubon [85]writes to Scaliger in October, 1604:—

'I must now tell you that things are changed with

[83] Donne, Letters, p. 51.

[84] Eph. p. 378: 'Venimus ad *τὴν δέησιναν*, et sine fuco et fallaciis quid de recta fide . . . judicaremus, prolixe exposuimus.'

[85] Ep. 416.

me here; I who was an object of hate to the loyolites for my steadiness in the profession of pure religion, am now become their dearest friend. Whether I am in town, or retired into the country, I must be among them, and converse with them. Lately I had a visit from Gonter, with I know not how many bishops; next day, when I was deep in my books, comes Fronto le Duc. . . . He had no sooner saluted me, than he began to tell me he was sent by the king with orders to press it upon me, as a thing which the king had very much at heart. I made them all the same answer, to the effect, viz. That truth had always been my one aim; that I would always be ready to consider and weigh all real arguments which could be advanced, but that promises of favour from my prince would have no weight whatever in such a matter. I expressed my surprise that after the emphatic proofs I had already given of my firmness in my present convictions, any further attempt should be made upon me.'

The explanation of this change of tactic was that the jesuits had seen that the vulgar motives of royal favour, and pension, which sufficed in so many cases, would not succeed with Casaubon. He was ready, if need were, to give up his place and go into exile. He not only declared this, it was easy to see that he was man enough to do it. But the wily emissaries of Rome, who have always piqued themselves upon their knowledge of men, saw, or thought they saw, that the case was not hopeless for all that. There was a side of Casaubon on which he was assailable. This was his learning. He knew too much to go in for all the untenable notions of his own church and friends. On a rude unlettered pastor, who knew nothing but his french bible and Calvin's

Institutes, there was no prize. But a learned man, who appealed to antiquity, who admitted the fathers and councils as authority, must be to be had. Honestly convinced that fathers and councils were on their side, the jesuits conceived that they had but to get him into controversy, to show him that the fact was so, in order to convince him of his error, and bring him to renounce it. He himself had said he would do so.

It was in this way that Casaubon was drawn into controversy, and through controversy to interest, and further reading on the controverted points. The management of the business, indeed, passed out of the immediate hands of the jesuits. The most learned man they had at the moment available was Fronto le Duc. But Fronto, though translator and editor of greek fathers, and notably of Chrysostom, had not strength enough to cope with Casaubon. Du Perron was obliged to be called in. It was impossible for Casaubon to decline frequent encounters with 'the archsophist.' The cardinal, as grand aumonier, had a general superintendence over the publication of theological books. Casaubon's library duties brought him into constant intercourse with him[86]. Notwithstanding his many defeats and disappointments, these reunions were used unceasingly by Du Perron for controversy,—by the king's command,

[86] I have not been able to ascertain what was the nature of the authority which cardinal Du Perron exercised over the library. The editor of the splendid History, too splendid for use, issued from the Imprimerie impériale, knows nothing of it. But it is clear from Casaubon's correspondence, that, in some way, Du Perron was his official superior. See Cas. epp. ep. 652, ep. 624. On the other hand, in Eph. p. 666, he says on one occasion when the cardinal sent for him, that it was 'nomine regis.'

he said. Scaliger thought it[87] not unlikely that this was true, looking at Casaubon's great reputation, and Henri's eager desire to please the pope. 'He thinks if he could only vanquish you, and suspend the spoils of your firmness on the fisherman's doors, that it would greatly increase his credit among his transtiberine friends.'

A letter of Casaubon, written in 1604, gives us an insight into the trouble occasioned him by the state of siege in which he was compelled to live[88]:—

'If I had attached the importance to these disputations which I find others do, I would have taken care that you should have heard from myself what took place on the occasion. Being invited lately to breakfast by cardinal Perron, he started a desultory discussion on religious subjects. I own I was surprised at this, for for some years past he has not opened his mouth to me on these matters at all, and I perceived that it was a plot directed against my simplicity, and originating with some other persons who were at table. Be this as it may, I was in for what became a very lively controversy. And

[87] Scal. epp. p. 271: 'Non parvam laudem putat apud transtiberinos fore, si spolium constantiæ vestræ ad illos referat, quod e valvis piscatoris aliquando pendeat.'

[88] Ep. 420. This interesting letter was printed by Gronovius, in 1638, as addressed to an anonymous correspondent, N. N. Almeloveen in reprinting it, 1709, appended to it a note of Colomiés, in which it is conjectured that the correspondent was Paul Petau. The conjecture is wrong. The letter was really addressed to de Thou, and the original is still to be seen in the MS. volume of Casaubon's letters to de Thou, Bibl. nat. coll. Dupuy, 708. The disclosure of the desperate attempts to get over Casaubon, and their failure, was still in 1638 a matter sufficiently delicate to make it desirable to suppress the name of de Thou, as Casaubon's confidant on the subject.

I was led to suspect that many of the company, who were not in the secret, supposed this to be one of those farcical disputations which they get up, and was concerted with me, to give a colour to my conversion. And it so fell out, that immediately the party broke up, the rumour was bruited about the town that I had given in, and that my conversion was now imminent. At first I tried to laugh it off. And, indeed, I cannot but think it ridiculous to make a serious matter out of one's conversation at table. But, finding that my character was at stake, I was obliged to write to the cardinal a letter of expostulation, of which letter I enclose you a copy, reserving further particulars for our next meeting.'

Compelled thus to encounter an adversary whose learning he respected [89], and whose argumentative dexterity embarrassed him, it was impossible for Casaubon not to give some time to theological reading. It grew upon him as the struggle intensified, and came to occupy more and more of his thoughts. He had always been longing for the time when he might steep himself in christian antiquity, and now the subject was forced upon him. [90] 'O that some man would arise,' he cries in 1606, 'who would revive the study of true ecclesiastical archæology!'

[89] Casaubon always speaks with respect of Du Perron's reading, and with something like awe of his controversial ability. The Italian biographer of Fra Paolo, Engl. transl. p. 61, says of the cardinal, 'truly that elevated spirit of his had an argute manner of disputing and extremely provocative,' a description identical with Casaubon's, Ep. 214: *τῆς σοφιστικῆς τερθρείας τρίβων.* Thus he was more powerful as a disputant than as a writer, yet his controversial books are singled out by Jer. Taylor, Dissuasive, 6. 486, as 'the more learned answers of Bellarmine and Perron,' in contrast to 'the more weak answers offered.'

[90] Ep. 518.

There was store of patristic greek in the royal library, which Casaubon could have approached, as no one has yet approached it, with a complete reading of pagan antiquity. Here was his true occupation, one in which he might have satisfied at once both of the instincts which divided him. Instead of this, he was driven to Polybius, and to the transcription of the military writers, an alien subject, to which he could bring but a factitious interest. From his own peculiar field he was excluded by the theologians, who would not allow a heretic to handle the fathers[91]. His own Chrysostom, of whom there were sixty MSS. in the royal library, was forbidden to Casaubon, and reserved for Fronto le Duc.

For Casaubon's efforts were not wholly in vain. It would not do to have this heretic librarian going about saying, that the king's collection was full of most valuable greek MSS. of the fathers, that he was desirous to print them, but that the clergy would not let him. What made it worse was that he was the one man most competent in France,—in the world—for the work. Something must be done. Would the king not find the funds necessary for an undertaking which would be so glorious for his reign? Ask Sully, who grudged Casaubon's keep already, thought 'he cost the king too much,' if he would pay for printing the fathers? Would he not reply by asking, Why don't you do it yourselves out of your rich benefices, you bishops and abbots? Such a public-spirited act would shed great lustre on the church!' If the mass of the dignified clergy were little likely

[91] Ep. 509: 'Editionem patrum hic curare non possum, quia non permittitur homini hæretico id genus librorum attingere, multo minus quicquam adjicere mearum observationum.' Cf. ep. 647.

to listen to such a suggestion, there was a small minority among the bishops possessed of sufficient culture to think it not quite absurd. In an assembly which they held in Paris in 1606, it was suggested that as the estate of the clergy had just received a remission of their tenths from the crown, to the amount of 400000 crowns, a portion of this sum might be devoted to printing the fathers. No more, however, could be extracted than 2000 crowns, to which, by cardinal Du Perron's influence, was afterwards added another thousand. Fortified with this small subvention a bookseller, Cl. Morel, engaged to bring out the works of Chrysostom. As the Eton Chrysostom (1612) cost sir H. Savile £8000 sterling to produce, it is clear that Morel must have relied on the sale to the public to repay his expenses.

But though Casaubon might not use the MSS. of the royal library, he might use others, and nothing could interfere with his printing in a foreign country. His earliest essay in patristic criticism he thus speaks of in 1596, in writing to Bongars, [92] 'I had begun lately to put together in a book, "Observations on the ecclesiastical writers;" but I afterwards forebore; well enough, methinks, is soon enough.' It was not till 1605 that he stole into the world, unobtrusively, almost timidly, with a first essay in this forbidden walk. His friend Hoeschel was publishing at Augsburg, 'Origen against Celsus,' a greek text then unprinted, setting herein, with far inferior resources, an example of what might have been done in Paris. The treatise was to be accompanied by the éloge of Gregorius of Neocæsareia on Origen, which had been once before printed, in a very bad state, in 1587. The text of this last piece Hoeschel communicated to

[92] Ep. 433.

Casaubon, who sent back a few pages of emendations. Hoeschel, glad to adorn his book with Casaubon's name, printed these notes along with Casaubon's letter at the end of his volume. Being purely critical, they excited no attention in Paris, and were so little known at all, that Meric even[93] had never seen them *.

In the next year, 1606, grown more bold, he ventured to print in Paris, and with his name, a little volume containing an inedited epistle of Gregorius of Nyssa, with a preface and notes. It was published by his cousin and friend Robert Estienne, in partnership with the heirs of Patisson. It attracted some attention, as having the name of Casaubon on the title. Lestoile mentions it[94] as 'bien digne d'estre recueilliée,' and it was cheap enough, being sold, bound in parchment, for a quarter of a crown. But if Lestoile, or the public, expected a theological manifesto they were disappointed. The notes are not theological, but illustrative and interpretative only. The different usage of the same word by the ecclesiastical, and by the classical writers, is often richly exemplified. Yet there are allusions which show how full the editor's mind was of the present. There is an oblique glance, p. 60, at the 'inventiunculæ humanæ mentis' on the subject of pilgrimage. And the preface is altogether a concealed allusion to the circumstances of the day, for it is a recommendation to concord among Christians. In the sensitive state of the public mind in Paris, to insinuate that the huguenots were Christians was a spark on gunpowder. Casaubon was admonished, and given to understand that his position as librarian and king's pensioner must not be used for the

[93] Pietas, p. 98. * See note D in Appendix.

[94] Registre-journal, p. 402.

subversion of the catholic faith. In his disappointment he wrote to Vertunien[95] that 'he should never be at rest till he found himself in a free country, where he might have liberty to reply to the jesuits.' Casaubon had only himself to blame, for having taken the opportunity of a greek book to make an edifying application.

If he might not write as a protestant, there was another controversy on foot, in which he thought the 'king's librarian' might without rebuke take up a pen. The old debate between the gallican and ultramontane parties, indigenous to french soil, had just now sprung up again into the question of the day, owing to the struggle going on between Pius v. and the republic of Venice. The gallican party in Paris sympathised keenly with the republic in its courageous resistance, and were desirous of having an argument on the principle drawn for circulation in France. Casaubon had, independently, from his own point of view, read with keen interest the books and pamphlets which inundated the press in these years. He had been[96] especially attracted by those of Fra Paolo, the Servite, in which he recognised the flavour of that ecclesiastical science, which was his own unattainable ideal. The distance between the real learning of Casaubon, and the disputative energy of Du Perron may be measured by their respective judgments on

[95] Ep. franç. p. 524: 'Mondict sieur Casaubon m'a mandé qu'il n'auroit jamais repos en son âme qu'il ne se veit en lieu libre pour respondre aux calomnies et impostures des Jésuistes.'

[96] Ep. 542. Cas. to Scaliger: 'Vidistine, obsecro, quæ Venetiis prodiere scripta a paucis mensibus? præsertim magni illius Pauli Veneti . . . ego cum illa lego, spe nescio qua ducor, futurum illic aliquando et literis sacris, et meliori literaturæ locum.'

Fra Paolo. 'I met Fra Paolo at Venice,' said the cardinal[97], 'I saw nothing eminent about him; he has good judgment and good sense, but *no great knowledge.*'

Casaubon was easily prevailed upon to undertake the subject, as that which he would have preferred was closed to him. But as a protestant name would have damaged the effect of the book, it was to be anonymous, after the precedent of Ranchin's 'Review of the Council of Trent.' Casaubon himself is careful not to tell his correspondents what it is on which he is engaged. But it could not be kept altogether secret. Early sheets were procured by the nuncio during the progress of the work, and Fra Paolo wrote[98] that it was eagerly expected in Venice. Casaubon threw himself into the fray with zeal. The pamphlet was becoming a book, and the sheets were printed off as fast as they were written. Fifteen sheets were already thrown off when the nuncio interfered, and demanded the suppression of the book. He had before obtained an interdict to stop the reprint of Gerson, 'De Potestate ecclesiastica,' and he had no difficulty in now procuring an inhibition of Casaubon's book[99]. The king was very angry, 'grandement indigné,' and Casaubon was fain to write a letter to Villeroy to excuse himself. He does this as well as he can[1], but cannot deny the fact that he

[97] Perroniana, p. 259. [98] Burney MSS. 365. p. 285.

[99] The suggestion that Casaubon should be engaged to write came originally from Venice. Camdeni Epp. ep. 65. Becher to Camden, June 4, 1607: 'Monsieur Casaubon hath two pieces coming forth, but neither of them yet finished, Polybius, and another, De libertate ecclesiastica, at the instance of the Venetian ambassador; and although their difference be compounded, yet it goeth forward, and there is great expectation of it.' Cf. Cas. ep. 882. Burney MSS. 363. p. 93.

[1] Ep. 557.

has been writing 'against the pope.' The government of Henri [2], which was at this period wholly ultramontane, seconded the nuncio. The 'De libertate ecclesiastica [3]' remained not only unprinted, but unwritten. Some copies, however, of the printed sheets had got abroad, and from one of these Melchior Goldast reprinted the fragment in Germany, 1612, and, by a curious coincidence, in the same collection of tracts which contained Gerson, 'De Potestate.'

Casaubon had lost much precious time over an abortive scheme; but his eagerness for the fray was not abated. He wanted to write a review of Baronius' 'Annals.' This, where the argument was not political, where the discussion turned entirely on the interpretation of ancient authors, was Casaubon's proper territory. Here he might expatiate in the field of ecclesiastical archæology which he was sighing to enter. But he could not do it, even in his own moderate style, without permission. He applied for this permission and it was refused; gently indeed, but seriously; 'the time was not yet come.' The strictest orders had been issued in Italy [4] that no one should be allowed 'to write against Baronius;' an order, as Fra Paolo remarks, 'which shows there was a good deal to be said.' Father Paul

[2] Michelet, vol. 5. p. 463, thinks that Henri IV. desired to act in favour of the protestants as early as 1600. If this was so, it could only have been a momentary impulse. It seems to me that it was not till the dispute between Venice and the see of Rome, that a Gallican party began to make itself felt in France, and that Henri IV. began to lean towards it.

[3] The fragment De Libertate is in Goldasti Monarchia S. Romani imperii, Hanov. 1612. vol. 1. pp. 674–716.

[4] Burney MSS. 365. p. 285. Fra Paolo to Cas.: '. . . ne quid vel minimum contra Baronium scribatur, vel alibi scriptum in Italiam importetur.'

would have answered it himself, had he been permitted, but Venice soon made up its quarrel with Rome, and the opportunity was past. France was equally under Roman influence, and Casaubon must defer his criticism of Baronius to a later day, and a freer country.

Thus precluded from the topic in which his interests were most engaged, Casaubon was compelled to fall back upon the classics. If we must regret that Casaubon laid out some of his best years upon Polybius, we must remember that he was driven upon it, by being debarred from the better work he would have done, but might not.

In taking up Polybius, he took up an old thread. Years ago, in 1595, he had pledged himself to an edition, and the author was not unsuitable to his turn of mind. Notwithstanding his admiration of Theocritus, he was destitute, if ever mortal was, of poetic feeling. The erotic and wanton greek muse offended his huguenot asceticism. He had no metrical skill. He had as little taste for philosophy as for poetry. In working upon Athenæus, though he had expatiated on the antiquarianism, he had been wearied with the frivolity of the dilettante litterateur. The level good sense and practical intelligibility of Polybius suited him. Living about a court like that of Henri IV, where literature was in low esteem, he felt keenly the desire to evince its value to men of the world. Not Ronsard, but Malherbe, the versifier of good sense, was now the fashionable poet. Casaubon's celebrated preface to his Polybius, which was long considered one of the masterpieces of modern latin, is entirely a pièce de circonstance. It must be read as addressed to the court—the court of 1609. 'The statesman should read history,' is its thesis ; and by history, classical history is

intended. In it, history, and pre-eminently that of the Greeks and Romans, is held up as the school of civil prudence and military skill. The mere literary use of the classics, the reading of a book like Cæsar's Commentaries, only to acquire a pure style, is condemned. Of Polybius' sixth book he says that it ought not only to be read, but to be learned by heart, by all princes, generals, and public men. Argument and example are employed with force, and without tedious accumulation, to show the utility of the classics to public men. The pleading is an argumentum ad hominem, for it is addressed to the ear of Henri IV's court. But it is good for all time, and is indeed the basis on which the defence of classical education must ultimately rest. 'The finest prefaces ever written,' said Joseph Warton[5], adopting a dictum of Bayle, 'were perhaps that of Thuanus to his History, of Calvin to his Institutes, and of Casaubon to his Polybius.' Warton, a critic who had the distinction of being also a scholar, admired it for its general style and subject. It is no less interesting to us as a historical document, peculiarly addressed to a special audience, and giving us a measure of the taste and acquirements of what was called 'the court' in 1609.

The object he had in view in editing Polybius not only inspired the preface, but governed the character of the whole volume. From not attending to this purpose, subsequent editors have misjudged the edition. Schweighæuser has blamed Casaubon for his negligent indication of the sources of the emendations introduced into his text. The usual apology is, 'Such was the habit of the editors of that age.' But Casaubon's

[5] Warton's Pope's Works, 1797, vol. I. p. 1; Bayle, Dict. Art. Calvin, note F.

omission of this duty must be ascribed not to want of accuracy, but to such accuracy being beside his purpose. He wanted to make Polybius readable. If he were to be read, he must be presented in latin. Accordingly, upon the latin translation Casaubon spent his labour. In 1588, when he gave Polyænus to the press, he had said contemptuously that [6] 'he could not afford to invest good hours in making latin translations; that was a kind of business he was content to leave to others.' Now it is precisely the reverse. The translation is his first concern. His Polybius is rather to be described as a translation accompanied by the text, than as an edition of the text. He has indeed altered Ursinus' text much, but often, too, the emendation, which he should have introduced into the text, appears only in the version. The version does not, in these cases, correspond to the text in the accompanying column. But, in such cases, it is the latin, and not the greek, which gives what Casaubon supposed Polybius to have written. [7] 'I can answer for the fidelity of my translation,' he writes to Scaliger. 'I wish I was equally certain of its latinity. But how few of us now can write good latin! By the way I can tell you what will amuse you. You know how the Italians have admired Perotti's latin in his version (of Polybius.) No wonder! for when the good fellow is puzzled by Polybius' greek, which happens sometimes, he has transcribed the parallel passage from Livy, who, you know, follows Polybius often pretty closely.'

If it is a matter of regret that Casaubon should have been driven from Chrysostom to Polybius, it must be more so that he should have embarked four years of his limited span upon what is little more than a latin

[6] Præf. in Polyæn. 1588. [7] Ep. 485.

translation. For there was no commentary. The notes were reserved for a second volume, which never appeared, and which was never written. What was found of this kind after his death among his papers amounted to about 200 pages, and was published in a small volume by Antoine Estienne, 1617. In these notes, though the old manner of illustration is preserved, there is constantly present an intention of dwelling upon the practical lessons of history. He will turn aside to quote something not very relevant because it contains words of political wisdom[8].

Yet, after all these imperfections, such is the power of knowledge, that Casaubon's Polybius has deserved that Schweighæuser[9] should say of it, that 'there is not a page of it which does not show how much Polybius owes to the learning and sagacity of that industrious editor.' It may be instructive to observe that even Casaubon's knowledge did not preserve him from making blunders as a translator. Henri Valois[10] says on this: 'Out of the numbers of translators of greek books whom we have had, who is there who has not occasionally slipped? The latin version of Polybius by Isaac Casaubon is held by common consent as one of the best and most correct which we have. And yet it is not free from blunders.'

The work engaged him from the end of August, 1605, to August 28, 1609, on which day he revised the last proof sheet. He did not print with his wife's connection, Estienne and Patisson, who had published the Gregorius Nyssenus for him in 1606. Though

[8] Comm. in Polyb. p. 88: 'Verba civilis prudentiæ plenissima.'

[9] Schweigh. præf. in Polyb. p. lxxx.

[10] Excerpta Constantini, 1634, ad lect.

they possessed some greek type, they had neither the capital nor the plant for a folio of 1250 pages. Estienne (R. Stephanus III.) was also a notoriously slow printer, out of whom it was difficult to extract a proof sheet. It is true his slowness proceeded from his scrupulous accuracy, and even learning. He would come down himself, all the way, to Casaubon to consult him about an accent which he thought wrong placed[11]. Though inferior to the best specimens of Robert Estienne (R. Stephanus I.) or Turnebus of fifty years before, the Polybius of 1609 is among the finest specimens of Paris printing. But latin and greek upon the same page cannot show either type to advantage.

It was turned out by Drouard (Jérome), who had published the Hist. Aug. Scriptores in 1603, and who afterwards with Cramoisy, Beys, and Co., formed the association known as 'à la navire,' for publishing the greek fathers. Drouard had a connection with Wechel at Frankfort, which enabled him to secure the German sale for his books. Early sheets were transmitted through the ambassador to Marny, who carried on Wechel's business, and he issued the book for Germany with another title-page as his own[12]. This was not a piratical invasion of Drouard's property, but an arrangement between the publishers, by which the copyright was secured in the empire. Drouard was a man of substance, for such a volume could not be produced without a large outlay,—at the present day it would cost from £800 to £900 to bring out—and we hear of none of the vexations which attended the publication of the Athenæus with the de Harsy of Lyons, or of any advances of cash by Casaubon towards the cost of printing.

[11] Ep. 550.

[12] Goldasti epp. p. 156.

Casaubon had applied, through the chancellor Sillery, for permission to dedicate to the king. Bruslart de Sillery, who had recently become chancellor, 1607, had known Casaubon many years before at Geneva, when on a diplomatic mission to Switzerland. Like some others of 'the court,' he was not without his share of letters, and Casaubon had brought out his Theophrastus in 1592 under his patronage. But his interests were now entirely gone into making his political career, and if he patronised Casaubon on this occasion, jealousy of Sully had probably more to do with it, than favour to the book[13]. However, the chancellor obtained the permission, which was given in a way which seemed to intimate that the dedication would be more acceptable from a catholic[14]. The king's name was an advertisement, and it was the interest both of editor and printer that it should figure on the title-page[15].

Next came the business of presenting copies, handsomely bound,—the binding at the author's cost. This was often a heavy tax; Casaubon, with his many great friends, had to give away fifty-five copies of Polybius. The tax on time was heavy too, as many of these had to be offered in person. The first copy was for the chancellor, who had obtained the permission, and who now undertook to bespeak a favourable moment for the presentation of the royal copy. On a day ap-

[13] Casaubon acknowledges that de Sillery had always stood his friend. Ep. 934: 'Dominum cancellarium, cujus unius ope atque auctoritate reculas meas isthic stare nullus dubito.'

[14] Eph. p. 651: 'Vocatus ad prandium hodie a cancellario Fr. (Franciæ) D. Silerio nonnulla cum spe sum reversus, fore ut Polybius noster regi sit acceptus. sed ego artes aulicorum novi.'

[15] Eph. 474: 'Hic fructus nostrarum vigiliarum, quas postquam in lucem emisimus, ingens occurrit numerus eorum quibus necessario dandi sint.'

pointed Casaubon attends at the Tuileries. The hour is not propitious; he is desired to come again, or better, to Fontainebleau, where royalty has more leisure. He waits a fortnight, and goes out to Fontainebleau, carrying his folio. His own reception was, as always, gracious; but [16] 'my work was received, as it was to be expected it would, by one who is absolutely illiterate.' The chancellor, who had repeatedly promised to explain to Henri what the business was, had, of course, forgotten all about it. Casaubon's elaborate compliments in the preface were thrown away. In vain he had reminded Henri 'of what you once told me yourself, Sire, that you had, when a child, translated the whole of Cæsar's Commentaries into french, for your preceptor Florent Chrestien.' He returned from Fontainebleau disgusted with courts, angry with himself for his dedication, laughing a bitter laugh at the folly of it all. However, after he was gone, some one, perhaps Sillery, made the king understand,—not the latin preface, but his obligation as dedicatee. When La Boderie, ambassador at S. James', was asked [17] 'if Henri IV. would receive a copy of James I's "Apologia pro juramento," he discreetly answered that his master would doubtless receive it, but he would not answer for his reading it.' That Henri would read a line of Casaubon's elaborate preface, is not to be supposed. But he could understand that a poor scholar, with a host of children, had embarked all his time and learning for many years in the present now laid at his feet. A few days afterwards Casaubon was surprised by a call from a maître de requêtes, one de Gourges, who was great in the business of conversions, and hung much about

[16] Eph. p. 693: 'Qui literarum est τελέως rudis.'

[17] Fortescue Papers, Camden Society, p. 4, note.

Casaubon with this view. On this occasion it was not Casaubon's soul he came to save, but a thousand crowns he brought—and this not in a paper order, which might have been subject to a heavy discount, but so many hard gold pieces in a bag.

The entry in the diary[18] lets us see that acceptable as the money was, the appreciation pleased much more. The present was handsome; too much for a huguenot. But then Henri had just given 100000 crowns to the Jesuits of La Flêche to finish their chapel with. And 1000 crowns, after all, was about half what he had once paid for an embroidered handkerchief for Gabrielle.

What of literary appreciation might be in store for the Polybius must come from abroad. In Paris it passed unheeded. In the university of Paris there was no one who could distinguish greek of Casaubon from greek of Morel or Fronto le Duc. Lestoile, who collected all the pamphlets and squibs of the day, and gives us title and cost of each, makes no mention of Casaubon's publication, though he had evidently seen the book, and been reading it, as he quotes from it, under September 7, two passages, one of which he finds very applicable to Sully, whom he detested. In 1607, William Becher sends Camden[19], among other Paris gossip, the news that 'Mons^{r}. Casaubon hath two pieces coming forth, but neither of them yet finished, Polybius, and another, "De libertate ecclesiastica,"' adding that of the latter[20] 'there is great expectation.'

During the four years' work on Polybius, we have a renewal of the same mental symptoms and conditions as were brought out by the Athenæus. At one time

[18] Eph. 696: 'Non sine honore verborum.'

[19] Camdeni Epp. ep. 65.

[20] See above, p. 219.

feverish intensity of application, impatient of any interruption; at another disgust at the self-imposed task, and wish to be reading Christian literature. There are times when, as he tells Ritterhusius[21], he is 'thankful to be compelled by his engagement to busy himself in his task, that he may shut out the many sorrows and vexations of his life.' His shrinking from intrusion and hindrance amounts to an indifference to external events, an indifference which grows upon him. Then physical fatigue, the amount of mere mechanical labour attendant on the production of a thick folio, the irregularity of the printers, the workmen one while taking unreasonable holiday, 'improbe luxuriantur;' at another, pressing for copy till he has to send each sentence of translation to press as fast as it is made, 'ut quæque periodus erat versa,' break him down momentarily, and he longs to be quit of it. No sooner is he quit than he begins again. He allows the booksellers to extort from him[22] promises to revise for second editions his 'Theophrastus' and his 'Suetonius.' As soon as these are done he will set about his commentary on Polybius. Meanwhile, he undertakes to lecture to a class on Aristotle's 'Politics.'

Slavish work at the desk, begun sometimes at 3 a.m., and worry out of doors, seem at this period to make up the sum of our author's life. But the picture is not one of unmitigated gloom. The refrain[23], 'ego vero vix, ac ne vix quidem jam ærumnis par sum,' from time to time gives place to a somewhat more cheerful strain. The five years, from 1605 to 1610, were, on the whole for Casaubon as for France, years of prosperity and

[21] Ep. 611: 'Juvit me non mediocriter quod per inchoatam dudum Polybii editionem cessare mihi non licebat.'

[22] Ep. 654.

[23] Eph. 546.

comfort, if not of calm. Casaubon's timorous and apprehensive spirit occasionally feels these influences. Halcyon days of repose—otium—he calls them once or twice[23], but adds characteristically, that this repose 'has a suspiciousness about it when he thinks of his sins.' But this repose—otium—means for him not the dreamy slippered ease of the literateur of academy days, but sustained and fagging drudgery. Many a day the only entry in the diary is, 'My daily task, thanks be to God[24].' The amount of labour, mental and mechanical, which is intimated by this short phrase, must be estimated by reference to his printed books, and to the still extant Adversaria, from which his books proceeded.

Rare were the occasions on which he allowed himself relaxation. In 1603 he took a couple of months, May and June, for a visit to his mother and friends in the south, and at Geneva. Madame Casaubon accompanied him, making the journey on horseback, except the last stage from Dijon to Paris, when she took the coach. The rate of travelling by this conveyance may be inferred from the fact that Casaubon, who was on horseback, arrived at home some hours before the coach[25].

A retirement into country shades from Paris glare and dust was as necessary then as since. Casaubon was occasionally invited to pass a few days at de Thou's country house at Villebonne, the retreat of the learned and the wise, as his hotel in Paris was their gathering place[26]. Such visits might not be all holiday. On

[23] Eph. pp. 447. 545.

[24] τὰ ἐγκύκλια Θεῷ χάρις.

[25] Eph. 504.

[26] Eph. 441: 'Diem egimus in hoc amœnissimo prætorio, et sua-

one of these Rigaltius began his edition of 'Artemidorus,' and found the genius loci, or the society of de Thou, a great aid[27]. On another occasion Casaubon is obliged to put off his visit for a week by the physician, who is bleeding him. And he regrets it because 'I had already in imagination devoured one or two books in your library, which I had decided on reading at Villebonne[28].' At another time Casaubon makes a party to visit the palace, new and old, at S. Germain's[29]; not, however, without a groan at the loss of time, and a prayer that as much as he came short in learning, so much he might profit in piety! These were rare indulgences, once or twice in the season. By-and-bye he seeks to secure a pied-à-terre for himself. First at Madrid, in the Bois, where a few houses had grown round the summer-house built by Francis I. after his captivity in Spain. Henri IV. did not much affect Madrid. But on one occasion his restless roaming brought him thither, on a day, August 22, 1601, when Casaubon happened to be there. The Persian etiquette of the 17th century, which separated prince and subject, did not yet exist. Henri immediately took Casaubon into his company, and showed him over the rooms in the château, talking all the while most seriously on religious subjects[30].

In 1606 came the year of the plague, and consequent

vissimis de literis sermonibus, aut ambulationibus cum magno Thuano, uxore mea, aut aliis amicis.'

[27] Artemidorus Rigaltii, 1603. præf.: 'Quum una tecum essem in Villabonio tuo, ne amœnissima rusticatione abuti viderer . . .'

[28] MSS. bibl. nat. collection Dupuy, 708. Cas. to de Thou, without date, but probably 1609: 'Jam spe certa devoraveram unum aut alterum librum quem isthic legere constitueram.'

[29] Eph. 302. [30] Eph. 367: 'Graves de pietate sermones.'

panic, when all who could rushed from the city. Casaubon at first resolved to stay by his work and the library. Indeed, Lestoile affirms[31] that the alarm was greater than the danger; that the death-rate of Paris in ordinary times was eight per day, and this was not increased by the pestilence. And Casaubon thinks[32] that the hard winter of 1607–8 carried off more than the plague of 1606 had done. He complains of the want of sanitary police in Paris, the nurses from the hospitals walking about the streets in broad day without so much as warning those they met to keep their distance, a thing which would not have been tolerated in Lyons. When his own friends and neighbours began to die off, he thought it prudent to withdraw to a greater distance than Madrid. The place he selected was La Bretonnière, eight leagues from Paris, in the neighbourhood of Chartres. The following summer was one of excessive heat, succeeded by a winter of great severity[33]. He now accepted from his friend Mercier des Bordes a refuge on his estate at Grigny, on the Seine above Paris. Besides the convenience of water conveyance for the distance of five leagues, it was near Hablon, and the château of des Bordes had itself the right of exercise of the reformed worship[34]. This gîte Casaubon retained to the end of his life, even after his removal to England.

Attendance on the public ordinances of his sect was not to Casaubon an irksome duty which he discharged with reluctance, it was a delight and a solace. He well understood that to read Chrysostom in his study was

[31] Registre-journal, p. 409.

[32] Ep. 593.

[33] Dan. Chamier, Journal, p. 64.

[34] Under the Edict, the assembly for this purpose in the manoirs of lords, not being hauts justiciers, must not exceed thirty persons.

far more edifying than most of what was to be heard in a sermon. But the congregational sentiment, powerful at all times, becomes an urgent necessity to a down-trodden sect, writhing under the insults of a wealthy and arrogant church. Avaricious, as we have seen, of his hours and minutes, Casaubon never grudges the whole day which his journey to Hablon or Charenton consumed. He goes, not regularly, it was impossible, but whenever he can. He records a regret whenever he is prevented from going. This, indeed, happens often; no wonder, when we remember his multiplied engagements in a dependent position, and the preparation required to face the distance and the bad weather so common in the fickle climate of Paris. For four years of his residence there, 1601–1606, the place of meeting for the protestants of the capital was at Hablon, ten miles distant from the centre of the city. The Parisians who, says Lestoile, 'would think it less wicked to enter a brothel than a protestant meeting-house,' could not endure heresy nearer. Hablon was on the Seine, and the journey to and fro was made, when the state of the water permitted, in a towbarge. At other times Casaubon must walk both ways, unless he could get a seat in the carriage of some rich coreligionist—the Arnalds or Du Plessis Mornay. The diary abounds in entries which relate to the pains and pleasures of these Sunday expeditions.

'March 3, 1602. To-day, self, wife, daughter, and some of our household got to Hablon, and though we suffered much from the bitter wind, we returned safe and sound.'

'March 24, 1602. Set off, self, wife, and Philippa for Hablon. But on getting down to the quay, found that the boat was already full three times over.'

'May 13, 1602. Went down to the quay, but the boat could not start as the wind was too high.'

'December 29, 1602. The service to-day was longer than usual. I was returning late in the carriage of two noble ladies, Madame de Cricebant, and Madame de Mantaleon, when the coachman lost the way in the dark. One of the horses got into the river, and was with difficulty got out, half drowned. It was a mercy we were not all lost.'

'December 24, 1607. The fatigue of yesterday (walking both ways to Charenton) prevented me from doing anything all day.'

'January 6, 1608. My wife was to have gone to Charenton to-day in the carriage of the ladies Arnald. But finding the cold too severe, she arranged that I should take her seat. We set off, but could not go very far; the icy cutting wind made it impracticable for the horses to move against it.'

'November 8, 1609. The church throughout France keeps its fast to-day. We went and heard three sermons, from Du Moulin, Le Faucheur, and Durand, discourses adapted to the occasion with wonderful skill and piety. I was so moved, that I was hardly master of myself. Both myself and my wife forgetting the miseries we had gone through in the morning in a wretched little barge, prayed God that he would grant us more such days.'

On one of these expeditions he was in very great danger. We relate the incident in his own words—he tells it twice, once in a letter to Scaliger[35] and in the diary under date,

'August 20, 1608. We set off for Charenton, my wife, John, Meric, and my sister. When we got down to the quay, though it had not yet struck seven, we

[35] Ep. 706.

found all the boats gone except a wretched wherry, without any awning. After some hesitation, we got into it, as we did not wish to lose our service. We had got half way, when, by some mismanagement, a heavy barge, towed by two horses, ran into us astern. John and Meric and my sister scrambled into the barge. I looked round for my wife, and saw her faint with terror, fallen into the Seine with half her body, the rest in the wherry, which began to fill. With a sudden exertion of all my forces, physical and moral, I got her within reach of the people in the barge, who pulled her in. In doing this, I had let go my hold on the larger boat, and was nearly lost myself, if my wife's cries had not called the others to my succour. The only loss I sustained in the accident was my book of psalms—my greek testament I recovered all wet out of the water. The psalm-book was precious to me, as I had presented it on our marriage to my dear wife, and had used it continually for two-and-twenty years. I did not find it out till we began to sing in the temple, and I put my hand into my pocket, and it was gone. By a singular coincidence the psalm was 86 : "Tirant ma vie du bord Du bas tombeau de la mort." We had been singing, I and my wife, on board the boat, as we usually do, and had just arrived at the seventh verse of the 92nd psalm when the collision took place. I could not but remember that place of S. Ambrose, where he says that "this is the peculiarity of the book of Psalms, that every one can use its words as if they were peculiarly and individually his own." '

We may imagine what must have been the sufferings of the women and the delicate,—we hear of infants dying on their way to baptism. As long as only poor huguenots endured these hardships, they

might have continued unrelieved. But two men, who still retained influence at court, happened to be of the persecuted sect, Sully and de Calignon. By their influence an edict was obtained removing the place of exercise to Charenton S. Maurice, distant only two miles, and also on the Seine, the temple being close to the landing-place of the boats. Nearer than this it was not safe to bring the place of exercise. But sometimes the duchess of Bar came to court and braved her brother's displeasure by having la prêche in her lodging. At times there was a French sermon[36] at the English embassy, and on all such occasions Casaubon gladly embraces the opportunity of attending.

That his public communion with his church was a sentiment which lay near Casaubon's heart is more surely proved by the large part it occupies in his thoughts, and the sacrifices of time he ungrudgingly makes to it, than by any overt assurances he utters. Indeed the impediments to the free exercise of his culte, and the desire to taste its unrestricted enjoyment, had no small share among the motives which made him seek removal from Paris. In 1601 he wrote to Heraldus[37], 'Both my wife and myself are impatient under the famine of the word of God, which we endure here. It is seldom and with much difficulty that we can get out to Hablon. We have not been accustomed to this deprivation.' The desire had not abated in 1607, though Casaubon's ideas had undergone considerable enlargement in the interval, and his calvinistic prejudices were being supplanted by a church ideal founded on the fathers of the fourth century.

Besides the deprivation of the ordinances of religion, there were other reasons why a protestant, and a pen-

[36] Eph. 597. [37] Ep. 1023.

sioner of the court, should feel his position in Paris precarious. The animus of the lower populace towards the calvinists was not changed since the Bartholomew, it was only lulled to sleep. The pays latin, the students, the swarms of fanatical friars and monks, which the countless convents harboured, were no less ready for a bloody fray than they had ever been. On Sunday, September 18, 1605[38], a placard was found posted up at the gate Saint Victor, summoning the scholars (they had ceased to be called clercs) to assemble after dinner on the banks of the Seine with clubs and arms, 'pour là s'opposer aux insolences de la maudite sect huguenote et abloniste.' The police was strong enough to prevent worse consequences on this occasion than a single assassination. But the 'vaches à Colas' (this was the slang designation of the huguenots) had an intimation on this, and on one or two other like occasions, of the volcano that was sleeping below.

The violence of the mob was uncertain and restrained by the government; the gradual undermining of the legal liberties secured to the protestants was allowed and encouraged. Henri had undertaken to the pope, Clement VIII, so to manipulate 'the edict which I have published for the tranquillity of my kingdom that its solid results shall be in favour of the catholic religion.' He kept his promise. The system, which went on till it culminated in the revocation of the edict, may be said to have commenced from its first publication, 1598. To worry the protestants became the occupation of every bishop throughout France. To interpret the edict always in favour of the catholic suitor was the rule for

[38] Lestoile, Reg.-journ. suppl. p. 388.

every court of justice. To goad them into revolt, and then to crush them with armed hand, was the policy of every civil governor who sought to recommend himself to authority. The clergy never met in their annual assemblies without lodging gravamina of the 'insolence' of the heretics, and extorting from the crown an enlargement of their own privileges, which was always stated pro forma, to be 'without prejudice to the edict.'

Still, as long as Henri lived, no general attempt to upset the edict was to be apprehended. In 1605, Casaubon was greatly alarmed at the turn things were taking, and had almost made up his mind to leave. Scaliger writes back[39] that gloomy as the prospect was for the future, he saw no reason for thinking the danger was immediate. That even if Casaubon was resolved upon departure, he could not do so without permission obtained from the king, and that whether the permission were granted or not, the having asked it would be equally an offence.

Looking to the sources of the troubles and annoyances which beset Casaubon during his Parisian period, creating in him the constant desire to get away, they are found to be very various, and some of them such as change of place could not have remedied.

1. The discomforts and perils attending the practices of the reformed culte have been already noticed. But the religious difficulty was by no means confined to these occasions. The efforts to convert him occasionally intermitted, but only to revive again with fresh vigour, and in a more overbearing tone. His resistance was resented. His obstinacy in heresy was ascribed to moral defects; he was charged with ingratitude to-

[39] Scal. epp. p. 293.

wards a benefactor. It was plainly insinuated that the king had by his favours bought his religion, and that as the price had been paid, it was now quite time that the article should be delivered. When the management of this difficult case was handed over to Du Perron, it took, as we have seen, a different turn. The vulgar means of suasion were replaced by learned argument. The former kind of appeal could be met by blank refusal; argument must be encountered by argument, citation by counter citation. Hence a grievous expenditure of precious time in preparation, in resisting an assault sure to be renewed on the next occasion. 'Loth I am, my God is witness, to waste my time in this kind of disputation. It is not my fault. I am compelled by necessity to undergo it, though I take care to let them know how immovable I am in matter of religion.' The siege laid to his religious convictions had begun with his removal to Paris. It had abated nothing of its vigour in the last year of his residence, 1609–10. The pages of the diary are full of such entries as the following:—

'March 6. Several hours to day with the cardinal. He sent for me in the king's name, and I went, though most unwillingly. We had much and serious talk of religion.'

'December 10. To-day with cardinal Du Perron, and long talk of religion.'

'December 11. Again to-day, a severe encounter with the cardinal.'

'December 21. O wretched life! cannot they let me alone, but must make it their business to pry into my faith. This is what makes my life a burden! What folly to try to persuade me that their church cannot err!'

'December 22. With cardinal Perron to-day, having been repeatedly sent for by him.'

'December 28. To-day with cardinal Perron. He is really great. Would that he may always be a defender of sound learning!'

The catastrophe of May 14, 1610, suspended, but only for a time, the persevering attempts of the cardinal. Du Perron now renewed the bait, offered years before, of a professor's chair in the university, and the persecution was only broken off[40] by Casaubon's departure from Paris. Rosweyd asserted, and no doubt believed, 'that Casaubon, convinced by the weight of Du Perron's logic, had given a promise to abjure at Whitsuntide. That the death of the king alone interfered with the execution of the promise, causing a panic among the calvinists as if S. Bartholomew was to be repeated, and inducing Casaubon to withdraw for safety to England.'

Baffled by Casaubon himself, the convertisseurs had turned their attention to Madame Casaubon. Here, however, they could get no prize of any kind. Simple Genevan detestation of popery was impenetrable. They tried the daughter, Philippa. From this cherished daughter the father did not conceal his most secret thoughts.

He subjected her to a trial which we might hardly have thought justifiable, but that he considered it a duty to let her understand how her worldly interest was involved in her creed. He explained to her the temporal advantages which he could secure for her if she became a convert. He told her 'that she was penniless; that after the wreck of his patrimony, he could give her no portion at which any respectable Parisian bour-

[40] Rosweyd, Lex Talionis, ap. Meric, Pietas, p. 85.

geois would look; that he anxiously desired to see her well married; that the only hope of this was in the royal bounty, which could only be obtained by conforming.' This was indeed to put his child to a hard trial. But it was with a thrill of delight that the father heard the temptation, not only overcome, but indignantly spurned by the generous girl. 'It was wicked,' she said, 'even to deliberate on such a choice. She was prepared to take up her cross, and follow Christ even to her last breath; if her father could leave her nothing, God would provide for her; she would work, and could live upon a very little.' God did provide for her; she was removed from this world at the age of nineteen.

With the eldest son, John, they had more success. A little controversy backed by a promise of a pension of 200 crowns, but more, perhaps, the spirit of the time and place, and the example of those about him, carried him over in August 1610. The blow fell heavily on Isaac at a period of general calamity. After Isaac's death, the conversion of his son was exploité by the flemish jesuit, Rosweyd, as evidence of the father's catholic leanings. Rosweyd roundly asserted[41] that John had been placed under a scotch jesuit, George Strahan, ostensibly as mathematical tutor, but with secret instructions to draw him insensibly over to the catholic religion. With reference to this charge, Lancelot Andrewes, bishop of Winchester, told Meric[42] that he had himself questioned John Casaubon on the subject. John had then made the following declaration: 'As to the step I took in changing my religion, I am obliged by my conscience to clear my father before God and men of

[41] Rosweyd, Lex Talionis, præf. [42] Meric, Pietas, p. 87.

all cognizance of the act. It was wholly my own act, I did not consult him.' But the diary here is the best evidence, and evinces how untrustworthy is the gossip of the jesuit colleges, which Rosweyd credulously states as fact. Isaac was informed of his son's perversion Aug. 14, 1610, and the entry on that day is one mixed of anguish and wrath; bitter ejaculations against the generation of vipers who have compassed this treachery against him, and entangled in their controversial net a youth wholly ignorant of theology.

Besides John, a nephew of Madame Casaubon, Antoine Estienne, son of Paul, was received into the church by cardinal Du Perron, who rewarded him by making him publisher of his own popular writings.

2. Casaubon's dependence on the court was, in other ways than that of being regarded as an unfulfilled bargain, a source of constant discomfort to him. Later in the century, under Louis XIV, pensions were the fashion, and a literary man could accept one from a sovereign without any sense of humiliation, even with pride at being distinguished. And as Casaubon fairly earned his salary at the library, he had nothing to feel on this score. On the other hand, there was as yet no public service. All employés were the servants of the monarch. The librarian was so in an especial manner. It was 'the king's library,' and he was 'king's librarian.' He belonged to the court, and had his share in the obligations which the court imposed on all within its circle. There was no humiliation, but also there was no independence. Life then was a system of dependence. The roturier placeman was dependent on the favour of the noble; the lesser noble on 'les grands;' the great noble himself, though not, at this period, so entirely as at a later

time, upon the king. The lowliness of Casaubon's situation, and the paltriness of his pay, only made the ownership more unmistakable. A man who sells himself so cheap must be supposed to have sold himself on servile conditions—to have made himself over, body and soul. A mistress purchased almost at her weight in crown pieces, may bear herself proudly, and repel her royal lover with insolent disdain. The poet or the scholar, to whom a pitiful sum is grudgingly doled out, may not think, speak, or write his own thoughts. Write against Baronius! No, the pope does not allow it. Edit a greek father! That is not for such as you. Even what he received, Casaubon had not the consolation of believing to be given as recognition of learning. His literary eminence had no other value in the eyes of the Béarnais roué, but as it made him worth buying as a convert.

3. Another crook in his lot was connected with his religion, in the personal share he began to have in the system of public defamation set on foot at this time by the jesuits. Casaubon was named, but only named, not pilloried, in the 'Amphitheatrum' (1605). The order went round that he was to be spared in print, because there were hopes of him. But he was to be threatened, and might be talked against. They sent him, from their libel-manufactory at Maintz, a title-page of a book which they professed to have in the press against him[43]. It went no further at present than letting him know that Scioppius, at Rome, spoke of him as Thraso and atheist. Casaubon says of this in a letter[44] to Chessel (Caselius) at Helmstädt: 'There is, I believe, nothing of Thraso in my writings; and if I were an

[43] Ep. 555. [44] Ep. 516.

atheist, I should now be at Rome, whither I have been often invited. I am resolved to make no reply to the snarlings of such a cur.' When Henri IV. expressed his displeasure for the book he was writing 'against the pope,' Casaubon alleged, in his own defence[45], that 'for the space of three years last past, they have been describing me as a wicked atheist, as prodigiously ignorant, and are now engaged in compiling a special book against me, full of scurrility.'

It is observable that these brutalities did not emanate from France or from the french jesuits. Twenty years before, the furious preachers of the league had vented enough of foul language. But literary controversy in France, even when most bitter, has on the whole been creditably decorous. It has often been cruel and insolent, but it has not known the depths of degradation in which the German-jesuit pamphlets of this period, compounds of the beerhouse, the cloister, and the brothel, are steeped. Scaliger expostulates[46] with Marc Welser, an Augsburg catholic, on this ground. 'It is Germany, look you, Germany, once the mother of learning and learned men, that is now turning the service of letters into brigandage. My France produces none of these foul scurrilities. From your presses it is that the poisonous matter comes forth. Antwerp, you will say; but Antwerp only reprints what you produce. The wretch (Scioppius) has no other motive for assailing Casaubon, than mortification at his surpassing merit.

[45] Ep. 557.

[46] Scal. epp. p. 406: 'Vestra Germania, mi Velsere, quæ tot eruditos olim viros protulit, solum hoc spectare videtur, ut nulla alia gens sanctissimum litterarum ministerium in latrocinium convertisse videatur. illa sane portenta mea Gallia non producit.'

It is Casaubon's superiority that will not allow them to rest. They bark whenever they hear his name, and I would take my oath that they can't understand the tenth part of what he writes.'

Though Casaubon was spared for the moment, yet he was only on good behaviour, and was under the surveillance of the bandits. He could not, too, but share keenly in the pain inflicted upon his honoured friend and master. He gave Scaliger all the sympathy and affection it was possible to give under his trial. Good men everywhere, even among the Parisian catholics, disapproved the 'Amphitheatrum,' but not as emphatically as they ought to have done. Scaliger was bespattered with dirt, and though the hand that threw it was the hand of a scoundrel, they were not quite sorry it was done. It was the interest of the church that the credit of the huguenot critic should be lowered. Few felt, as Casaubon felt, that learning itself was insulted and outraged in the person of Scaliger. Casaubon's personal share might be less than Scaliger's. But to both of them it was a bitter disillusion to find that knowledge which they had devoted life to acquire, was the unpardonable crime which drew down upon them an overwhelming load of slander and abuse.

4. But it was not only on the side of catholics that Casaubon had to endure much misrepresentation. His own co-religionaries were not a little troublesome to him. In their anxiety for his steadfastness, they beset him with exhortation, remonstrance, or objurgation, according as the fears or hopes of the writer predominated at the moment. In 1601, he had found it advisable, as we have seen, to give a public assurance of his attachment to his principles, in a letter to the

synod of Gergeau. This served for a time. But the reports gathered head again, from time to time, and not unnaturally. When his conversion was so repeatedly announced as a fact by the catholic party, it could not but acquire some credit among the protestants, especially at a distance. In 1604, when Gillot returned to Paris from Poitou[47], he found the colporteurs in the streets crying a broadside, 'The conversion of M. Casaubon,' and people 'talking' of nothing else. But it was in 1610 that the report acquired fresh consistency. Casaubon had recently received a severe injury, as he conceived, at the hands of the authorities of Geneva. He did not scruple to go about using strong language in condemnation of their behaviour to him. He was closeted, day after day, with cardinal Du Perron. Offers of promotion were made him. In his disputes with the cardinal he gave up much of the ground which the calvinist polemics were accustomed to maintain; and it was becoming known that he disapproved the neglect or contempt of christian antiquity which the calvinist doctors professed. Especially on the eucharist, he did not conceal that the doctrine of the catholics was nearer, than that of the calvinist churches, to what he conceived to be the opinion of the ancient church. We find him admitting to his friends that 'there were many weak points in the protestant system;' that the writings of the fathers were often 'strongly forced to get from them a sense favourable to the protestant view;' that Du Moulin's position that, 'Scripture is so plain that it needs no interpreter,' is false and dangerous. We can imagine that his appearances at the Temple of Charenton, often far between, were narrowly watched,

[47] Ep. françaises, p. 419.

and what a scandal must have been created, when the man, who a few years before thought it a sin to be present at mass, now heard (on passion sunday 1610) a papist preach, and could approve much—not by any means all—he said.

The ground now taken up by Casaubon was, in reality, much firmer than that he had occupied before, inasmuch as it was one of knowledge. Some few of the best men of the party fully understood this, e.g. Du Plessis Mornay writes[46] to Erpenius, January, 1611, 'I have never, as you know, believed that he would draw near to Rome.' But the calvinist public could not know this; what they did know was, that he no longer shared all their ideas and sentiments. This was quite enough to make him an object of suspicion, at least, to his own party, a party heated by a sense of defeat, and kept in a perpetual state of nervous apprehension by continued injustice and encroachment. The eyes of all the reformed congregations throughout France were on Casaubon; they were watching his every movement with disquietude, and were agitated with reports of his backsliding.

It would have calmed their apprehensions if the pastors of his own church, the church of Paris, could have given him a certificate of orthodoxy. But unfortunately the leading minister at this period, Pierre Du Moulin, had grievances of his own against this illustrious member of his flock, whose reputation threw his own into the shade. Du Moulin was a zealous religionist, who had given up a secure and honourable position at Leyden, for the illrewarded and battered life of minister in his native country. Fond of dispute, and vain of his powers, he spent his life in discussion

[46] Mém. et corresp. de Duplessis-Mornay, II. 143.

and controversies, or in writing attacks and answers. A man who maintained so much, and so dogmatically, was naturally obliged to be content sometimes with weak, sometimes with false, arguments. Casaubon, who had to hear his learned displays before his wondering and obedient flock at Charenton, could not help at times throwing out hints of the insufficiency of his glib references to the fathers, or regrets at the levity with which christian antiquity was set aside. He read Du Moulin's pamphlets, and on the margin of one of these, the 'Defence of King James' confession of faith,' had marked a few of the writer's errors. This copy had been seen by some mutual friends, and Du Moulin called on Casaubon and insisted on having it. Casaubon gave it up, begging him to take his notes in good part. This was just before Casaubon's departure from Paris, but it was the climax of a condition of distant relations between the straying sheep and his spiritual shepherd. That Casaubon had not the least thought of quitting the communion of his church because the minister who preached to him was one of the half-learned, is evident from his whole mental attitude at this time. One passage of the diary may be quoted which bears on this subject. He enters, September 5, 1610: 'Communicated, and heard the learned sermon of Du Moulin. I cannot indeed deny that the ancients thought very differently of this sacred mystery, and administered it otherwise. I could wish that we had not departed so far from either their faith or their ritual. But inasmuch as neither that faith nor that ritual rests upon the explicit word of God, and I am but a private individual whose duty it is to follow, and not to lead in the church, I have no just ground for making any change myself; least of all so at a time when every

effort is being made to establish all the superstitious figments which ages have accumulated.'

To be looked on coldly by the calvinistic Du Moulin was enough to increase the suspicions afloat of Casaubon's unsoundness in the reformed faith. He added to this another error, that of being in friendly relations with theologians of a freer cast of doctrine. Neither Daniel Tilenus, nor John Uytenbogaert could be accused of inclining to popery; but their sentiments were felt to be not altogether those of the old fashioned calvinistic school. The new Arminian protestantism which was in the next twenty years to play such a part in Holland and England, had not been taken up in France, where the reformed churches were too severly pressed upon by the catholics. But it had been heard of, and Uytenbogaert was already (1610) in ill odour with orthodox calvinists[49]. With Uytenbogaert, Casaubon only became acquainted in the last year of his Paris residence, when he attended the embassy which came in the spring of 1610 from the States General to Henri IV. Casaubon heard the remonstrant champion preach, with approbation[50]. They had together a long conference on theological topics. Of this conference no mention is found in the diary. But notes of it were taken by Uytenbogaert at the time, and though it must be read with the latitude required as conversation reported from memory, it is valuable evidence of Casaubon's sentiments at the period (1610). It is therefore given entire (from Epp. ecclesiasticæ (1704), p. 250).

[49] Daersen writes to Uytenbogaert, in 1610, epp. eccles. p. 245: 'Vostre nom n'est pas peu descrié en plusieurs endroits de ce royaume . . . la France qui est la plus inquiète en pareilles matières . . .'

[50] Eph. p. 736.

'Cas. Je suis fils d'un ministre. Les ministres point à leur aise pour maintenant.

Uyt. Il cuidoit estre bruslé à Bourdeaux.

Cas. Dieu a voulu que je viensse icy, depuis ceux de Genève m'ont fait la plus grande iniquité du monde. Les papistes pensoyent à cette occasion se prevaloir de moy; me solliciterent fort, même le roy. Je luy dis que je le suppliois ne me faire rien faire contre ma conscience; qu'il en feroit un hypocrite. Il dit qu'il ne voulust pas que je changeasse de religion, mais que je conservasse. Depuis je suis été fort attaqué, nommément de M. Du Perron, qui à la verité est fulmen hominis; car comme je suis bibliothécaire du roy, quand il vient en la bibliothèque, les occasions ne luy manquent point. J'ay subsistés jusques ores, grâces à Dieu; mais il faut que cependant je vous confesse qu'il m'a donné beaucoup de scrupules, qui me restent, et ausquels je ne sçay pas bien respondre; il me fasche de rougir. L'eschappade que je prens est, que je n'y puis respondre, mais que j'y penseray.

Je confesse que je ne puis approuver le concile de Trente, en ce qu'il a décrété touchant les livres apocryphes; c'est chose abominable, car ce sont des fables; ni pour la translation latine; c'est chose abominable. La tyrannie aussi du pape est intolérable. Et pour le fait des images, ainsi comme cela maintenant est en usage, c'est un abus trop manifeste, et tout plein d'autres choses. Mais il fault, monsieur, que je vous confesse, qu'il y en a d'autres que me mettent en peine, quand je considère ceste vénérable antiquité. Pour nostre police ecclésiastique, elle ne me semble pas accorder avec l'antiquité.

Uyt. Icy je consens.

Addit. Que M. de Bèze luy avoit dit, que M. Calvin,

voyant les abus de l'église Romaine en cest endroit, avoit râclé cela; mais qu'en effet M. Calvin estoit evesque de Genève, et que peu devant son trespas, il en avoit nommé de Bèze, qui n'en voulut point. Un jour M. de Bèze avoit fait un prêche où il avoit exhorté le magistrat de son debvoir sur quelque procès, affin que justice tint la balance droite. Monsieur de la Faye, recitant ces propres mots, en avoit prêché contre. Moy m'addressant à M. de Bèze, qui en pleuroit de regret, (c'estoit une âme vrayement chrestienne, qui me dit un jour qu'il avoit occasion de demander pardon à Dieu de ses péchés, mais que jamais il n'en demanderoit de l'ambition; vice auquel il estoit le moins addonné) Je luy dis, que s'il avoit la police de l'antiquité, cela n'adviendroit pas; ce que m'advoua. Je luy demandai, pourquoy donc il avoit tant resisté à l'Angleterre? il ne respondit rien. 2. Nous n'avons plus de dévotion; en l'acte même de faire la sainte cène, comme nous allasmes, quelque un me demanda, comment se porte le coque de vos poules d'Inde? se dire des injures. 3. Pour les malades porter la cène, cela est dans l'antiquité. 4. Pour le baptesme, est advenu qu'en un temps extrêmement rude quelqu'un portoit son enfant pour estre baptisé à Charenton, l'enfant estant malade à la mort, on ne voulut pas le baptiser devant le prêche; l'enfant mourut, le père se revolta. 5. Pour le sacrement, mesmes il est certain, que l'antiquité donne à entendre, qu'il y a bien quelque autre chose. Plessis beaucoup de faussetez. Moulin aussi au 3 chap. de S. Denis *πρὸς φοραντὸν δῶρον*. 6. Pour la prédestination, il est mal aisé de ne tirer la conséquence, Deus est author mali. 7. Pour le libéral arbitre, M. Calvin fait dire à S. Augustin, ce qu'il ne dit pas. 8. Pour les bonnes œuvres, il y a quelque autre chose

qu'on ce dit; pour le moins, il les faudroit plus prescher; M. Perrot disoit un fois à Genève, qu'on avoit trop prêché la justification par la seule foy; il est temps qu'on parle des œuvres. 9. Pour la descente aux enfers, M. Calvin parle trop cruement. Je sçay que M. Calvin a ésté grand personnage, mais ses disciples empirent les affaires. Il y a un vray Pharisaisme. M. Goulart un jour taschoit de faire jurer les Institutions de M. Calvin. Je suis en la plus grande peine du monde. D'un costé et d'autre je suis mal, non obstant qu'il y a des gens doctes, grâces à Dieu, qui m'aiment.'

The rest of the memorandum is in Latin. Casaubon inquires if Arminius had expressed himself dissatisfied with the current tenets of the church to which he belonged? Uytenbogaert answers: 'He did so, but his main point was the reunion of Christendom; and the basis he projected was, the drawing a line between fundamentals and non-fundamentals.' Casaubon exclaimed, 'O pious intentions!' . . . Here the conversation was interrupted by the entrance of Reygersberg.

These notes bear internal evidence of their genuineness. The Arminian party valued them for the sake of giving their views the authority of Casaubon's name. We cannot wonder, if this was the style of his conversation, at his becoming a scandal and stumbling-block to believing calvinists. They afford no evidence of a disposition to embrace catholicism, while they sufficiently account for the origin and prevalence of such a rumour.

Daniel Tilenus, professor of theology at Sedan, had long been one of his trusted correspondents. It was a letter to Tilenus which had brought Casaubon into trouble some years before. In 1602, he had in few and simple terms expressed his indignation at the tone

adopted by Canaye de Fresne, who had no sooner gone over than he began to indulge in abusive language of those who did not follow his example. A copy of the letter was shown to Canaye de Fresne at Venice, and seems to have stung a conscience, not quite easy at his act, to fury. He set on the catholic bloodhound, Scioppius, and made a formal complaint to the king. This complaint could come to nothing, as there was really nothing to complain of. In 1610, Tilenus is still the person to whom Casaubon is able best to confide his misgivings as to the calvinistic system, while at the same time he reasserts his own steadfastness as against the inducements held out to him to desert to Rome. He tells Tilenus[51] that it is quite true that the people and government of Geneva have done him a great injury, but not true that he ever thought of abandoning his religious principles on that account. 'I thank you,' he continues, 'for informing me that such reports are current. But is it possible that you yourself were inclined to attach any credence to them? Have I ever shown any particular desire of wealth and honour? Have I not had golden fortune knocking at my door, almost breaking it open, and have I not resisted the temptation?

'How then, you will ask, did a report to this effect originate? Let me remind you of the situation in which I have been placed. For years past I have scarce had a day free from contests with persons professing a different religion. With what freedom, with what zeal I have spoken on these occasions, God knows. I never invited these conflicts; they were always forced upon me. I was not a theologian, but being compelled to give reasons for my opinions, I was

[51] Ep. 1023.

driven to suspend all other studies and to give myself up to this one. I compared the writings of our friends and their opponents with the doctrine of the ancient church. Among the rest I read Bellarmine. On scripture, tradition, the authority of the old commentators, on the power of the pope, on images, on indulgences, I could by certain reasons demonstrate all Bellarmine's positions to be false. But when I come to the chapter on the sacraments (though there be also some things which can be refuted), it is no less clear to me that the whole of antiquity with one consent is on the side of our opponents, and that our writers who have attempted to show that the fathers have held our views have egregiously wasted their time. The careful study of the ancients has raised certain scruples in my mind. About these I would give a kingdom to be able to consult you, for all I desire is to learn. That I am staggered by the consent of the whole ancient and orthodox church I cannot conceal.'

When things had gone so far as this, we must admit that if there was no real foundation, there was at least some justification, for the alarms of the protestants and their jealousy that Casaubon was about to desert them.

5. Other sorrows which attend our advancing years now began to crowd round Casaubon. The death of his mother in 1607 was in the course of nature. She had survived her husband twenty-two years, and her declining age had been sustained by the affection of her illustrious son, who, poor as he was, had, out of his poverty, ministered to her comfort. She had declined to follow him to Paris, naturally preferring the climate of her native south, and a protestant neighbourhood. As long as Casaubon resided at Geneva or

Montpellier, she made frequent and long visits to him. After his removal to Paris, he visited her as often as he could; the last time, in 1603; visits which Casaubon could dwell upon after her death[52] as consolatory. He writes[53] to Pierre Perillau of the incredible satisfaction which he has had in this visit to his mother, from which he is just returned. 'I wanted to have located her at Geneva; but she would not. I have therefore purchased a house for her at Bordeaux (in Dauphiné) and have done my possible, nay, more, to relieve her from all apprehension about the future. Thank God, she is now in sufficiently easy circumstances for a person who has so few wants.'

In 1602 he had lost the best of his sisters, Sara Chabanes. One of her sons, Pierre, Isaac had undertaken to educate and provide for. Just as the youth was beginning to be very useful to Casaubon, both in his reading, and in the library, when he was just of age, he fell a victim to one of the voyages to Hablon. He caught his death in the boat on a bitter Palm Sunday, such as Parisians know too well.

The heaviest blow was the loss of his much-cherished daughter, Philippa. Superior endowments of mind, and a generous elevation of character, had endeared this daughter to the father above all his many children. Philippa was his pride and his consolation. Without beauty, she had the sweet charm of graceful seriousness, or softened melancholy, which belonged to the huguenot women of that generation. A presentiment of her early grave perhaps hung about herself, which her delicacy of constitution, and frequent ailments, too surely predicted to the apprehensive mind of the fond father.

[52] Eph. 558. [53] Bulletin de la soc. prot. 2. 290.

Philippa had been much noticed by the family of the English ambassador, Carew. Lady Carew (she was a Godolphin) took such a liking to her that she offered to take her into her house as companion. The other advantages were great, but the opportunity of learning the language was what chiefly attracted Philippa, whose young life was clouded with dread of a time when they might all have to fly for life, and looked to England as the place of refuge. The parents, though loth to part with their darling, thought they ought not to reject such an introduction for her. In a few months she became an established favourite in the household of the Carews, who told the parents they ought to think themselves happy indeed in such a child. The flower was nipt in the bud by a fever which carried her off, after a few days' illness, æt. 19. The entry of the interment in the cemetery of the faubourg S. Germain is dated February 26, 1608[54]. Lady Carew joined her tears with those of Madame Casaubon[55]. For Isaac all attempts to return to his books were for some time fruitless.

The blow was the more severe as none of the other children seemed likely to replace the lost one, but were rather a source of discomfort. John, the eldest, early developed a crooked disposition. We find him[56], æt. 18, thieving from his parents' poor purse nine crowns, and otherwise distressing them by lending a favourable ear to the professional convertisseurs. Twelve months afterwards, æt. 19, he went over, as has been already related. It was in great measure upon the lies set

[54] Bulletin de la soc. prot. 12. 276. Reg. de decès, 26 févr. 1608: 'Philippe Casaubon, fille de M. Casaubon, professeur du roy, et garde de sa bibliothèque.'

[55] Eph. 589: 'Suas nostris lacrimas adjungens.' [56] Eph. 625.

afloat by this young rogue among his new associates that the reports were founded of Isaac's apostacy.

Of his children in general the diary says[57], in 1607, 'They are almost all great troubles to me, some of them because they are always ill, some because they make no progress either in virtue or in letters.' He is in fear that more of them will follow John's example[58]. This grievous disappointment was not to extend to Meric. Meric, at the date when this wail was wrung from the desponding father, was only seven. In the following year, æt. 8, he was sent to school at Sedan, under Samuel Neran. Here he remained till 1611, when he rejoined his father in England. Isaac lived to see Meric confirmed, but not to see developed in him those learned tastes and accomplishments which might have consoled the father for the degeneracy of the rest of the children. The only letter which Meric preserved of those written to him in his school-days, is so characteristic of the writer that it is thought right to give it. It is dated Paris, September 18, 1609.

'Meric, I am glad that you write to me tolerably often, and shall be more so if you do so oftener. I shall, however, expect each letter to show some progress since the one which preceded it. I see that you are beginning to compose latin themes, but not without bad mistakes. Learn something every-day. Exercise your memory diligently. If Terence is one of the books you read at school, I desire that you will commit it to memory from beginning to end. No one will ever speak latin well who has not thumbed Terence. Write me word if you read Terence, and what it is you read at school. Above all, be good, fear God, pray for father, mother, brothers, and sisters. Honour your

[57] Eph. p. 546 [58] Eph. p. 764.

teachers, and be obedient to them. Be careful not to waste time. If you do this, God will bless your studies. I have written to the master, and to the person with whom you board, not to let you want for anything. Your mother sends her remembrances, and desires you will, from her, kiss Mrs. Capell's hands, as I do also. Your father, Is. Casaubon. Remember me to the Hotomans.'

In the same year that his mother died, 1607, his surviving sister, Anna, left a widow by the death of her husband, Jean Rigot, came to Paris. Isaac had portioned her, giving her, with Madame Casaubon's consent, 500 crowns, their joint savings intended for Philippa. Her husband's brothers, the Rigots, had some claim upon Jean, which, after a litigation of twelve years, resulted in a decision adverse to Anna. She was left penniless, and Isaac, who had maintained her as well as his mother, now took her to live with him. Her temper soon proved the bane of his household[59]. She and Madame Casaubon could not agree, 'fire and water sooner,' says the diary[60]. It went on from bad to worse. She soon turned on Isaac, reproaching him with doing no more for her. At last she became so unreasonable that it was doubtful if she were in her right mind. Yet the long-suffering man continued to keep this [61]'monstrum mulieris' in his household. Well might he ask Rutgers[62], who offered him hospitality, 'Are you a Crassus that you can lodge an army? Were I really to appear with my whole establishment, you would be alarmed.'

6. Other troubles originated with the family of

[59] Eph. p. 629: 'Nube tristissima hanc domum obfuscavit.'
[60] Eph. p. 517. [61] Eph. p. 672. [62] Ep. 723.

his wife. Paul Estienne, Madame Casaubon's brother, though himself a member of the council of 200 at Geneva, was somehow compromised in the treasonable practices of the syndic Blondel. Blondel was executed in September 1606. Paul, however, who was perhaps guilty of nothing more heinous than the desire to save Blondel, got off for a few weeks' imprisonment. He was released on engaging to appear whenever called upon. He had before this neglected his business[63], and in 1607 he made his appearance in Paris in a state of penury. The business which brought him was the affair of the greek matrixes before spoken to. It would seem that sir Henry Savile was desirous of employing the royal type in his edition of S. Chrysostom, and for this purpose would have been willing to purchase the set of matrixes which were at Geneva. In this negotiation Savile sought the mediation of Casaubon, who had supplied him with collations from the royal library, and lodged 500 crowns in the hands of the English ambassador at Paris. Casaubon, or his wife, as coheir of Henri Estienne, was joint owner of the matrixes. But as Henri, in his lifetime, had been compelled to mortgage this property, they must be disengaged before they could be sold. Isaac Casaubon, besides finding Paul in a supply of cash for his immediate necessities, became surety for 200 crowns, and sent him back to Geneva, to effect the object. But when it became known that the matrixes were about to be sold to England, the authorities of Geneva interfered. They claimed them as part of the establishment of Robert Estienne, and as irremovable

[63] Ep. 605: 'Fatali circa rem familiarem negligentia.'

from Geneva under his will[64]. At the same time the Genevan courts of law decided, on the suit of Nicolas Leclerc, the mortgagee, in his favour, to the effect that he should be repaid the amount of his advance, 400 crowns, out of the estate of Henri Estienne. As neither Paul Estienne, nor Anna Rigot, had a single crown which they could call their own, this was to decide that Isaac Casaubon should pay his father-in-law's debts, and yet not get possession of the valuable property pledged to meet them. He had to satisfy Henri Estienne's creditors out of his own purse. No wonder that his denunciations were passionate and bitter. Besides the heavy pecuniary loss, he was irritated by the injustice, and by the quarter from which it proceeded, 'his own Geneva, for which he would readily have laid down his life.' Worse still, he met with no sympathy from his Genevese friends. In all the city, Diodati, the professor of Hebrew, was the only person who offered condolence. All Geneva approved the sentence. Laurence, the scholarch, Casaubon's successor as classical professor, in writing to the victim himself[65], could not conceal his delight. Lect, his own advocate, and legal adviser in the business, who did not defend the decision, hinted that it was hardly rational to ascribe a decision of a court of law to the rapacity of the pastors and professors, as Casaubon did. The letter of remonstrance[66] written by Simon

[64] The will of Robert Estienne is printed from the archives of Geneva in Rénouard, Annales des Estienne, ed. 3e. p. 578. The affairs of the Estienne are still involved in some obscurity. I have given the best account I can of Casaubon's implication in the business, but am in some doubt as to parts of my statement.

[65] Ep. 600.

[66] Burney MSS. 367.

Goulart, in the name of the 'cœtus pastorum,' and intended to pacify Casaubon, was little adapted to do so, being written in a canting tone, alleging their wellknown god-fearing character as proof that they could not have wronged him.

7. As there are men who continually grow richer without effort, so there are others who are continually impoverished without any fault of their own. Capital, small or large, requires an attentive eye to nurse it, and the scholar's attention is necessarily elsewhere. Isaac Casaubon seems never to touch money but to lose it. He lost for himself, he lost for his sister, he had lost before for his mother. His own little patrimony at Bourdeaux, his wife's dower at Geneva, his sister's portion, all disappeared, not spent, but lost. Biographers rap out the consecrated phrases about 'bearing losses with philosophy.' Philosophy teaches the contrary lesson; it teaches the all importance of money, as the condition of moral activity. Casaubon's financial calamity dwelt on his mind and interfered seriously with his reading: [67] 'For some months past I have lost that spring of mind which used to bear me up, amid my studies.'

Casaubon's financial grievances are a pervading topic of his diary and letters, in which they occupy a more prominent place than will be approved by those who think that scholars ought to affect to live on greek roots. This biography is not intended as an apology, but as a portrait, and therefore must present what it finds. But indeed no apology is needed. If it be to a man's credit to be unworldly, Casaubon was eminently unworldly. His money troubles are the

[67] Ep. 587: 'Ab aliquot mensibus alacritatem illam prorsus amisimus, quæ studia nostra plurimum sublevabat.'

troubles of a man who could neither get it nor keep it, a man for whom the world is too keen and sharp, who is conscious that he is surrounded by money-getting creatures more able than himself. Nor does he, any more than any other philosopher, desire wealth apart from its uses. Through all his moanings and wailings, his outcries, and wringing of hands, the one object of his existence is perceptibly in his thoughts, leisure and books—books and leisure to read them,—the scholar's life—income only as its means and guarantee.

He does not complain of the insufficiency of his salary. Indeed his salary and pension together were of larger amount than the average of academical or scholastic incomes at the time. Besides this there come occasional presents, not often such munificent gifts as those of the king and de Harlay. Then he got something, small—but something, for his books from the booksellers, something also from dedicatees for dedications. Chouet, the German bookseller, was to give him a half escu per sheet for revising his Suetonius, and something besides—'quantum æquum erit' —for new matter[68]. He takes boarders occasionally into his house, but only the sons of great people, who might be expected to pay, e. g. lord Herbert[69] of Cherbury, the two sons of Calignon, the chancellor of Navarre, and the son of Sapieha, chancellor of Lithuania. And though the rent of his house in

[68] Burney MSS. 365. p. 62.

[69] Life of Lord Herbert, p. 67, about 1608, in company with Aurelian Townsend: 'Through the recommendation of the lord ambassador, I was received to the house of that incomparable scholar, Isaac Casaubon, by whose learned conversation I much benefited myself.' Cf. eph. p. 641: 'Angli hodie nos adierunt.' Patrick Young, son of Sir Patrick, was intended to have been sent to Casaubon in 1608. Smith, Vita Junii, p. 9.

the faubourg S. Germain is uncommonly high, it should seem that Mercier des Bordes had some arrangement by which he shared it with him, as well as, possibly, provided his country retreat at Grigny. But, on the other hand, the scale of living, and every other expense, especially firewood, was then, as now, excessively high in the capital as compared with the provinces. At Montpellier 30 livres had been sufficient to find him a lodging. In Paris he must pay 400. A parisian laquais would spurn the modest portion which would be accepted as suitable with a daughter, by a provincial bourgeois. When the city of Nîmes offered Casaubon 1800 livres, they told him[70] that he would find it more at Nîmes than the larger salary he was actually receiving.

At one time difficulties experienced in the payment of his stipend counted as one of his standing troubles. The aversion of de Rosny (Sully) for all pensions was proverbial. He justly dreaded Henri's facility in granting orders on the treasury, and resisted or evaded payment as long as it was possible. He had acquired the character, most valuable to any keeper of an exchequer, of being a dragon of the public money. He was the terror of the holders of orders, whom he snubbed and humiliated even when compelled to pay[71]. Casaubon had at first to run the gauntlet of Sully's antechamber, to go and wait hours, and then be told to come again another day.

'March 13, 1601. This day also wholly lost. Went to Rosny, who gave me plainly enough to understand what I may look for at his hands. . . De Thou and other great friends who really care for my interest, have no influence with this barbarous man.'

[70] Ep. 456.

[71] Lestoile, Reg.-journal, p. 531.

'December 19, 1603. Some work early; then to Rosny, but fruitlessly; he was at home and disengaged, but I could not get speech of him.' In October 1604, Scaliger writes[73] to him that he is not afraid of Henri abandoning him; 'more is to be feared from the dragon that guards the golden fleece, than from your avowed enemies. He is the only person who can convince the king that "plus capere intestina philologi, quam arcam unius *πορνοβοσκοῦ*."'

But Sully did not take this view of their comparative claims. Casaubon's demands were a bagatelle by the side of the lavish extravagance which Sully was daily called on to meet. To mistresses so many 100000 livres. To the great nobles so many millions. Sully himself was on the pension list for 20000 francs. But then king and nobles, these were beings who had a right to existence! Sully's own account of the matter was[73], 'Henri invited Casaubon to come to Paris with his family, and assigned him a pension which permitted him to live as becomes a man of that sort, who is not called to govern the state.' Besides the just dislike of 'mere nothings' which the true pursekeeper has, Sully wanted to see Casaubon 'do something for his money,' and told him so[74]: 'Vous coutez trop au roi, monsieur; vous avez plus que deux bons capitaines; et vous *ne servez de rien.*'

Even the professors of the collège royal could not get their nominal salaries paid. Etienne Hubert, for example, an intimate friend of Casaubon, and a man of real merit, was regius reader of Arabic. He had been employed by the government in negotiations with the Algerines, and sent out to Morocco. On his return he

[73] Scal. epp. p. 271.

[73] Œcon. royales.

[74] Esprit de Henri IV, p. 104.

was rewarded with the chair of Arabic. The king gave the chair, but Sully had to pay the salary, and never did. For himself, Casaubon's own personal favour with Henri got him out of the difficulty. 'When you want to be paid[75], you come to me and I will give you a password, which will enable you to get your money. Never mind Rosny; it is his share of the business to say the disagreeable things; the saying the pleasant things I keep for myself.' Accordingly, in the later years of the Paris residence we find no further complaints from Casaubon of non-payment. What the nature of the password was we are not told. But whatever it was it was good only for Casaubon himself. He failed entirely to get the same privilege for Hubert. In vain he used his own small influence, and got de Harlay to promise to take the matter up. De Harlay undertook to speak to Sully, and said the affair would soon be settled. It never was settled, and Hubert was obliged to leave his arabic studies and chair, and go off to Orleans, to earn his bread by the practice of medicine.

Among all the pensions[76], that to Casaubon was the only outlay Henri made on literature. And the exception confirms the rule. Even in this unique 2000 livres, literature had the least share. The consideration for which it was given was only partly Casaubon's services as librarian; it was much more the anticipated conversion. To the last Henri continued to expect

[75] I quote these words of the king from 'L'esprit de Henri IV,' p. 104, which gives, as its authority, 'manuscrit in 4°.'

[76] Henri IV. invited Malherbe to court, telling him 'qu'il lui ferait du bien.' He never did anything. It was not till after Henri's death that the poet obtained a pension of 1500 livres from the government of the queen regent.

the recantation, to urge it through Du Perron, and to refuse Casaubon's repeated request[76] to be dismissed. These applications were made through Villeroy[77], through Sully himself, nothing loth. Sully was mollified, and permitted himself to be gracious to Casaubon when he found that his pensioner, instead of hanging on about the court for what he could get, wanted much more to be gone elsewhere. It was Henri's personal good will that chained Casaubon so long in the uncongenial life of the intensely catholic capital. It would perhaps be unjust not to allow that some humane feeling mingled with the egotistic monarch's arrière pensée. He treated his scholar, whenever he saw him, with so much bonhommie, that we cannot but wish that he had been able to appreciate him. We feel disposed to say with Scipio Gentilis[78], 'One thing only is wanting in your great king to make him perfect, viz. that he does not sufficiently value your learning. O! if he only knew latin to be able to do so!' Casaubon well understood that nothing but Henri's personal favour protected him. The thought could not but often occur: 'If anything should happen to—it was too dreadful! If that thread should break, what would become, not merely of Casaubon, but of the whole huguenot population of Paris!'

8. Death began, as time went on, to be busy among

[76] Exercc. in Baron. p. 42.

[77] Ep. 557: 'Que sa Majesté me permette me rétirer ailleurs, sitôt que mon grand ouvrage de Polybe . . . séra achevé.' Cas. to Villeroy, June, 1607.

[78] Burney MSS. 364. p. 137: 'Ad summum et perfectissimum omnium virtutum culmen una res deesse magno regi videmus, quod virtutem et eruditionem tuam non satis intelligat, intelligeret autem satis, si latine modo sciret.' Scipio Gentilis to Cas. 1609.

his friends. In 1606 died his friend and patron Calignon, chancellor of Navarre, one of the few great men who remained stanch huguenots, and yet retained some influence at court. In 1607 he lost Lefebre, his trusted physician, who best knew his constitution[79]. Lefebre had attained the age of seventy-two, but Hadrian Williams of Flushing was cut off in the flower of youth. In him Casaubon had just found, what he had long sought in vain, a young and eager disciple, athirst for knowledge, and giving his whole soul to acquiring it. He had come with an introduction from Scaliger, and had at once recommended himself to Casaubon by his simple modest manners, and ardour of study. He was a student of medicine, and was eager to penetrate the great secret of nature. Such means of observation as the medical school of Paris afforded he used industriously, but thought, as was commonly thought then, that more might be learned from the arabian writers. Though every part of knowledge had attractions for his ample curiosity, arabic was the immediate point of contact between Hadrian and Casaubon. Hadrian had come to Paris more for the sake of being near Casaubon than for the schools[80]. Isaac soon found that whatever might be his own superiority in greek, in arabic the young Fleming was qualified to be his teacher. 'He had thumbed Avicenna by constant use; the Koran was so familiar to him, that after you,' Casaubon writes to Scaliger[81], 'I suppose no European would come near him.' He was preparing to go in the suite of the french ambassador to Constan-

[79] Eph. p. 475: 'Sapientissimus medicus atque exercitatissimus Faber sic tractandas vires hujus infirmi corpusculi judicat.'

[80] Scal. epp. p. 185: 'Non urbis celebritas, sed eximia eruditio tua evocavit.'

[81] Ep. 402.

tinople, when he was seized with inflammation of the bowels, and died after a few days' illness. His projects and accomplishments vanished into air! and Casaubon's arabic reading was discontinued when the instructor and the stimulus were withdrawn [82]. Charles Labbé, though intimate, and even useful, never came into the place which Hadrian's death left vacant.

The death which searched Casaubon most deeply was that of Scaliger. Had he lost, in losing him, only the patron of his fame and fortunes, the true and sympathetic friend to whom he told the secret troubles of his life, the loss would have been heavy, and at fifty irreplaceable. But Scaliger was, besides this, the oracle who could resolve his learned difficulties, the only reader who could appreciate his classical work [83]. For whom should he write, now Scaliger was not there to read? Others might applaud, but it was with a purblind admiration. The death of Scaliger was like the setting of the sun. It was now, not dark, in the republic of letters, but starlight only. To the last he saw and read everything that came out, with his faculties and his memory perfect, and appraised it at its value. In his correspondence with Casaubon his amiable qualities, often obscured by his contact with a malignant and unscrupulous party, come into full evidence. Their intercourse had been conducted wholly by letter. They never met. Scaliger left France for Holland in 1593, before Casaubon quitted Geneva; and Casaubon, though often scheming a visit to Leyden, had never found it possible to put the design into execution. Yet a fast and intimate friend-

[82] Ep. 548.

[83] To appreciate Casaubon's books was claimed by Scaliger as his peculiar privilege. Scal. opuscula, p. 520. epp. p. 301.

ship had grown up between them. There is, perhaps, hardly another instance on record of such a perfect intimacy created and maintained without personal intercourse. Something may have been due to the mediation of friends, especially Richard Thomson and young Dousa, towards exciting in Scaliger affection for the man, whose learning he had begun to respect from his books. It is the charm of their mutual correspondence, which we have still complete on both sides, that in it we can trace, from its first germ, the formation, growth, and development of this perfect friendship, which, from first to last, was never once clouded by a moment's suspicion, disagreement, or misunderstanding.

Casaubon introduced himself to Scaliger by an epistle, simply asking for his acquaintance,—an epistle such as he addressed to many other men of learning. The request was prompted by the yearning for sympathy, which every engrossing study creates,—a yearning which found no response in theological Geneva. Nearly twenty years younger than Scaliger, and still unknown, Casaubon ventured to approach the prince of letters, timidly, and on his knees, with homage, which would seem overacted, only that it is not acting at all. Scaliger, at first somewhat condescending and patronising, as Casaubon grows bigger and bigger, gradually admits him to an equal familiarity of address, conceding to him distinctly the superiority in the matter of greek reading. This is done without affectation, without mortification, rather with undisguised satisfaction in the discovery. From the moment he saw the Suetonius (1595) he wished to get him called to Leyden, and endeavoured it, but in vain[84]. After

[84] Scal. epp. p. 153.

Casaubon was settled in Paris, Scaliger was steady in advising him to stay, where he was tolerably well off, and ever endeavoured to soothe his friend's restless fears. But he pressed for the visit which was ever promised. [85]'Should it please the Almighty Father to prolong my days till the spring, that I might receive you here, I should indeed be happy in seeing that which many things forbade me ever to hope. If you do think of coming, take my advice, and come in May —not earlier. In this climate, winter leaves its mark even so late; no trace of spring is visible till Taurus is pretty well set. But only *come;* come even in mid-winter if you choose to do so. We will counteract him by the cheerful fire which I will keep in your bed-chamber, sparely furnished maybe, but clean; for I have only to offer the "concha salis puri," and a heart which is devoted to you.' Casaubon[86] replies, 'That he had resolved not to be a burden to Scaliger during his stay in Leyden, but rather to go to the inn. After such an invitation, however, he was afraid he should not be able to resist the temptation.' Though Scaliger speaks of his humble saltcellar, the Heidelberg book-seller, Commelin, thought his entertainment, on his visit to Leyden, magnificent. This invitation was sent in 1604–5. Then the visit was deferred from year to year. In the autumn of 1608 the weakness which began to confine Scaliger to his bed declared itself, and the visit never took place at all.

Twelve months prior to his last illness, Scaliger had made a will, and dividing a few memorials among his friends, he left Casaubon a piece of plate[87]. 'Touchant

[85] Scal. epp. p. 268. [86] Ep. 428.

[87] This cup is left by Casaubon's will 'to that sonne, who

ce peu que j'ay d'or ou argent en œuvre, je légue au Sieur Isaac Casaubon soubs maître de la librairie du roi, une coupe d'argent dorée avec son estuy, que les messieurs des états de Zeelande m'ont donné[88].' He tells Casaubon that he had given him something; 'I have left trifling remembrances among my friends, proofs of affection, not of wealth. Enrich them I cannot, nor will they expect it. The little matter I have left you, I could wish had been better and larger; but I trust it will gratify you, as it is an honour to me to have named you even in my last will.' So well was it understood that Casaubon was the nearest and dearest, that it was to him that Henisius addressed the graphic and touching narrative of the hero's last hours. Casaubon was to communicate it to de Thou. To Casaubon was assigned, by consent of all the friends, the composition of a prefatory éloge to Scaliger's collected essays, which was published in 1610, a piece which Scipio Gentilis, cast away in the pine-barrens of Franconia, could not read without tears[89]. Indeed, Casaubon had not waited for death to sanctify such an effusion, but had given vent to his feelings in a preface to Scaliger's translation of Martial, a panegyric upon the living which was intended as compensation for the brutal attack of the 'Amphitheatrum,' and was taken by Scaliger as such[90].

Casaubon's letters to Scaliger are truly autobiogra-

walkinge in the feare of God, shal be fittest to sustayne my family, I doe give the cup of Mr. Scaliger, of moste happie memory.' See note A in app. to chap. 10.

[88] Burney MSS. 367, and see Bullet. de la soc. prot. 18. 595.

[89] Burney MSS. 364. p. 141.

[90] Scal. epp. p. 337: 'Ego profecto illam non ad meam laudem, sed ad defensionem mei comparatam esse judico.'

phical. In the whole folio volume, among more than 1200 letters, there are none which have the same confiding tone, the perfect trust that what is said will fall on a friendly ear, and be secure of friendly response. Scaliger is an accurate and satisfactory correspondent: replying himself to each topic started in the letter he is answering; a punctuality which Casaubon does not imitate. From no one does Casaubon receive in his griefs that solid comfort which Scaliger was prompt to offer. 'I cannot tell you,' writes Casaubon[91] in July, 1608, 'the satisfaction your last gave me. It was so unmistakably evident how much you loved me, and how deeply you felt my adverse fortune. You were the only one who sympathised with me when I was swindled by the petty tyrants of the lake (Geneva). And now again this thunderbolt has fallen on my house (death of Philippa), your letters show that you feel it with me. The labour you spent in writing to me was not thrown away, *δὶς γέρον*, the reading of your epistle was no small comfort to me.' Casaubon's affectionate nature having found a strong soul to which to cling, abandoned itself to the culte of the hero with a devotion which bordered on idolatry. 'I know,' he writes[92] in 1605, 'what the good and the learned owe to you; how much more do I owe! Were I to spend my life in your service, in executing your commands, I could not repay a tenth part of the debt. What a father is to a son, that you are to me; I am your devoted client.' While the loss was recent. he writes to Kirchmann[93]: 'What tears are enough at this funeral? Past ages have never seen his like; perhaps no future time will. The more conversant any

[91] Ep. 606. [92] Ep. 460. [93] Ep. 628.

one becomes with letters, the more grand will he find that incomparable hero in his writings!' To Du Plessis Mornay he says[94], 'His death has taken away all my courage. Now I can do nothing more.'

To all these losses, sorrows, and vexations must be added another constant source of misery. This was the habitual ill-health of himself and almost all his family. Madame Casaubon, besides her twenty-two confinements, was always ailing, often alarmingly ill, though she survived her husband, notwithstanding, many years. On the occasion of these frequent attacks, which seem to have been of the nature of intermittent fever, Isaac was assiduous in waiting on his wife, and sacrificed his hours without a murmur. The children were equally troublesome; first one, then another, sometimes all at once. January, 1604, he writes to Du Puy, 'Since you left us we have hardly spent a single day free from illness, either of myself or my wife, or both.' September 12, 1610, the diary has, 'My wife, setting off to receive the sacrament of the Lord's supper, had no sooner entered the barge than she began to be unwell. She communicated, but was immediately after brought home by our two friends, M. Herauld and Dr. Arbault (the physician), and she now lies suffering from a severe attack of fever. Meanwhile the greater part of our children are in bed with fever, and I too have begun to be unwell. God eternal, look upon this prostrate family.'

Upon Isaac himself the shadow of death was slowly advancing for years before the closing scene. His ailment was constitutional, but was aggravated by the sedentary life he had led from his early youth. Scaliger already in 1606 knew of him, by description,

[94] Ep. 624.

as 'tout courbé d'estude,' he was then only forty-seven. August, 1610, is the first occasion on which the diary notes the passing of gravel, though as a symptom which had appeared sometime before. He is always dosing himself with purgatives, or being treated or bled by his doctors. After the death of Lefevre, 'who best knew how to treat this weakly carcase of mine,' there were Arbault and Mayerne, the latter of whom he again met in England. From what we hear of their treatment, it seems to have been governed exclusively by a fear of fever, and by the presence of gravel. He drinks Spa water, which was as procurable in Paris then as now. For years he had used little or no wine. 'Wine does not make men more disposed to study,' he says in correcting *φιλίαν* for *φιλοσοφίαν* in Athenæus, 5. 1. As early as 1597, Varanda, the Montpellier physician[95], used to tell him that if he continued to live as he was then doing, he would have, like Achilles, a glorious career but a short one.

The bodily languor, of which he constantly complains, manifested itself in a dejected and apprehensive condition of mind. This grew upon him. He begins to consider himself a marked man, against whom the fates have conspired. His letters are lost; no one else's are, of course[96]. 'I recognise my luck, a man to whom for months past nothing has happened, but what is disagreeable and contrary.' This general tinge of sadness not only colours the diary, it is visible in all he writes. He expresses[97] his fear that traces of this depression will be found in the Polybius; in the commentary, no doubt, for it could

[95] Ep. 132, where Veranæus is, no doubt, Varanda.

[96] Ep. 604.

[97] Ep. 623.

hardly infect translation. Translation, demanding close attention and watchful care, but no intellectual elasticity, was just the occupation to deaden sorrow. Polybius, he tells Ritterhusius[98], had been his refuge and solace, the only anodyne of his suffering under the loss of his daughter, which else had been unbearable. Heavy grief, such as this, drove him to his books, lesser annoyances and worries took him from them[99], so fretted his mind, 'that he must almost renounce the Muses.' This happens especially on occasions of Madame Casaubon's absence. The cares of the household are then thrown upon him; a hungry craving for her presence takes possession of him; he is in positive anguish if she does not write by every post; if she postpones her return from Grigny for a single day, he is the most wretched of men.

There is, indeed, in the faces, as in the words, of all the old huguenots of Henri IV.'s reign, a common trait of mournfulness. They write as men for whom hope is extinct, whose cause is lost; with a consciousness that they belong to a past age, that they have nothing to look for in this world. They sit waiting for death as the hour of relief. [1]'My last sad consolation,' writes Scaliger, in 1606, 'is that if any general disaster is in the air, death is near at hand to deliver me.' De Calignon, æt. 57, sank under the weight of chagrin in the same year, saying, [2]'good men had no reason to desire to live.' Du Plessis Mornay we have seen retire broken-hearted to his petty

[98] Ep. 611. [99] Ep. 584.

[1] Scal. epp. p. 327: 'Ultima est illa consolatio, sed miserrima, quod si qua futura est calamitas, eo brevior erit, quo propius a morte absum.' [2] Thuani Hist. 6. 381.

governorship of Saumur; D'Aubigné was equally estranged; de Thou struggled, alone and in vain, against the spirit of the times, and the tendencies of the age.

Forgetfulness was surely the only condition on which a huguenot could live in Paris. It is surprising, after what had occurred, after 1572, and the ten subsequent years, to find them within twenty years domiciled in the capital, still stained with their blood, and going about among a populace which was still taught to execrate them. The administration of Henri IV, though not what can be called a strong police, was firm and just enough to be respected. Yet no executive has been secure against surprise by the excitable Parisian mob, and much mischief could be done before armed help could come. Scaliger's estimate of the situation at the time of the huguenot panic of 1605 seems to put it in a clear light. Himself in a safe retreat, yet having his most valued friends in the place of danger, and in intimate relations with the french embassy at the Hague, he was better informed than Casaubon, though on the spot. He writes July 24, 1605, 'The two principal topics in your last, viz. the perpetual terror in which you live, and the offer from Nîmes, require more time, and more consideration, if I am to make an advised answer. But I can now only write a few hurried words, as young Vassan, who takes this, is leaving immediately. You tell me you do not think yourself safe where you are, where bad men have the upper hand, and the influence of the good is diminishing daily. I make allowance for some misgiving; there is too much ground for it, you share it with all good men; and I cannot be surprised that you

should have thought of removing. But if one looks more closely into the grounds of this panic, it does not certainly seem to me that there is sufficient reason for forming any such desperate resolution. After all, the bad have not yet reached such a height of power as to have the good at their mercy; nor under the present sovereign is the innocent less safe there than the bully. I do not see any ground for thinking that you cannot continue to live there in safety. If you come to the inscrutable future (τὸ ἄδηλον τοῦ μέλλοντος) and urge that the part of prudence is to anticipate the fall of the house, and not to wait till it has tumbled in upon you, I remind you that a man is a man, and not God, who alone can know future events. If it is the part of the wise to suspect a calm, I rejoin it is also his part not to believe every alarming rumour.'

The obscure allusion in the last sentences is to what neither of the correspondents would put into words, but what was in both their thoughts. The catastrophe of May 14, 1610, was felt, and known to be coming, even then, at five years' distance.

It was not, then, mere fretful restlessness which urged Casaubon, during his twelve years' sojourn in Paris, to be always planning to leave. The uncertain tenure of his office, the insecurity of life itself, combined with the wearying distractions of society, to engage him to seek quiet and safety elsewhere. It was so well known that he was on the wing, that overtures were being continually made to him, from various quarters. With each of these he dallied for a time, but when it came to the point, the negotiation was always broken off. The real reason was that he could not make up his mind to offend Henri IV, who made

his stay a personal matter, and would have made his departure a personal quarrel. By going elsewhere he might get rid of importunate visitors, but would sacrifice valuable friends. And what library could replace to him the royal library?

Of all places Geneva, his native city, which had so wronged him, was least likely to be the chosen Zoar. Yet his friends in Geneva, Lect and Diodati, were not without hope. In 1601, Lect writes[3] that their poverty, and the Savoy fort, prevented them from thinking of establishing a second, or extraordinary professorship of classics, and that it was equally impossible to disturb the actual holder, Du Laurens, in the professorship which had been Casaubon's. After the destruction of the fort, Lect writes again that they had invited Godefroy to be professor of law, but that he could never describe the academy as flourishing, till they got Casaubon back. It was at Lect's house that Casaubon was lodged during his visit in 1603[4]; Lect was also his lawyer in his Genevan affairs, and was a member of the council. So that there was no want either of goodwill or opportunity on Lect's part. But we do not find that Casaubon much encouraged these overtures, if they can be so called. He had outgrown the situation. He was aware that Geneva, with its narrow religionism, was no longer any place for him. Church politics were the one only interest in the calvinist capital. They had given Casaubon a handsome reception, in 1603, poor as they were; had invited him to a public banquet, but it

[3] Burney MSS. 365. pp. 60. 68.

[4] At the time of this visit, Lect writes to Goldast, Goldasti epp. p. 118, mentioning Casaubon's being at Geneva, but without any hint of his being invited to remain.

was as a 'distinguished coreligionist;' and Pierre Du Moulin shortly afterwards received the same honour[5]. For learning there was in Geneva not a spark of intelligence, sympathy, or appreciation. Casaubon too must have been shocked at the poverty-stricken aspect of the city. Beza in a letter dated October 18, 1603, describes it[6]: 'This poor republic supports a burden under which it is a miracle that it does not sink; being obliged to keep up a garrison of from 300 to 400 men. The very houses are fast becoming ruinous, and all things are much changed since you left.' Godefroy, who at first accepted the invitation sent him, when he saw what the place was like[7], preferred to return to Heidelberg. The duke of Savoy, unable to capture the city, had succeeded in nearly ruining it. Had Casaubon ever seriously entertained the thought of returning to settle at Geneva, it became impossible after they had confiscated his father-in-law's property, and he had proclaimed them in Paris as hypocritical thieves!

We have seen[8] that, at an earlier period of his life, Casaubon might have been glad of a call to the university of Heidelberg. The position which was then desirable, was become now highly eligible. The Palatinate, its court and university, had been making rapid progress not only in political importance, but in education and culture. It was become the intellectual centre of western Germany. Refinement is perhaps a term hardly applicable to any German court of the period. Hunting and hawking, heavy feasts prolonged to swinish intoxication, were the serious occupations of the princes

[5] Du Moulin, autobiographie, Bullet. de la soc. prot. 7. 342.

[6] Bullet. de la soc. prot. 20. 162.

[7] Goldasti epp. p. 118.

[8] See above, p. 74.

and nobles; genealogy their only science. Frederick IV, elector Palatine (†1610), was not exempt from the failings of his class, and possibly hastened his end by intemperance. Yet the debasing habits of his nation and class[9] had not extinguished in Frederick IV. a taste for better things. He was able to take an intelligent share not only in the administration of his hereditary principalities, but in the political complication which was enveloping the Palatinate in its fatal web. The electress Louisa Juliana, daughter of William of Orange and Charlotte of Bourbon, imported into her german court something both of french breeding, and of republican simplicity. The best men of the protestant party, such as Christian of Anhalt, came and went as frequent visitors. Lingelsheim, who had been preceptor, and was now minister, of the elector, was a devoted admirer of Scaliger, and had been for some time among Isaac Casaubon's correspondents. Marquard Freher, another member of the prince's council, eminent as a teutonic antiquary, had corresponded with him since 1594. Another link with Heidelberg was Bongars, one of Isaac's best friends and earliest patrons, who was agent, or envoy, for France to the german princes, and was perpetually passing between Paris and the Rhenane cities. Christian of Anhalt, during his visits to Paris, had taken much notice of Casaubon. To von Buwinkhausen, the Wurtemberg envoy, he had dedicated his Gregorius Nyssenus. All these were men of influence

[9] Stamler writes to Ritterhusius, in 1603, that Pacius declines a call to Heidelberg because 'a principe indocto, cui docti et literæ sordent, aulici plus quam studiosa juventus et professores amentur.' Vita Camerarii, p. 201. There was, however, a not inconsiderable amount of life in the university. See the vague panegyric of Hausser, Geschichte der Pfalz. 2. 260.

and position. Beside them Casaubon was lié with the more eminent men of letters—they were not many, who were to be found on the upper Rhine, with Denis Godefroy, with Gruter, Jungerman, Scipio Gentilis, and stood himself in the light of patron to the young Saumaise, a french scholar, who was now engaged in disinterring the MS. treasures of the Palatine library.

It was natural, on both sides, that Casaubon should think of Heidelberg as his place of retirement, and that the Palatine Athens should offer an invitation. In August, 1607, Casaubon gives Lingelsheim to understand that he may have to leave Paris[10]:—

'I have little doubt, most noble sir, that Denis Godefroy has reported to you something of the conversations we had, with much mention of you, during his visit to this place (Paris). He may have hinted to you that the present state of tranquillity we have enjoyed by favour of the Almighty for some years past, is only on the surface, as it were skin-deep, and is watched with much anxiety by those who can read the signs of the times. During the late distemper of our prince, all good men were in great alarm. I, for my part, was meditating flight. God was merciful, and restored health to him, on whose safety ours depends. I trust I may never see a day so woful to our France. But should it happen otherwise (which God forbid) I have resolved upon taking refuge among you, and placing me and mine out of danger.'

On this hint, the elector's council authorised von Buwinkhausen to make overtures to Casaubon. What was proposed to him was a theological chair of some kind, probably ecclesiastical history. The offer did not come till July 1608, but it must have been decided on

[10] Ep. 562.

some time before, as Lingelsheim speaks of it[11] as already mooted in November 1607, and Scaliger, at Leyden, knew of the intention as early as March 1608. He wrote to Casaubon then, and received for reply[12] that he had heard something of the sort talked of, but did not believe there was anything in it. In December 1607, Lingelsheim expresses himself as 'out of patience with the usual dilatoriness with which Casaubon's business proceeds.' In July 1608, the offer was made in form. Casaubon, with many professions of his own unworthiness, accepted. The arrangements were to be completed after the return of the envoy, who was going out of town for a short time. He did not return as soon as expected, and when he did the matter was not resumed. Why, I am unable to explain. Casaubon speaks[13] of impediments—quæ id inceptum circumstent impedimenta—in a way to imply that they were on the german side, and not on his.

After Heidelberg, the most eligible offer was from Nîmes[14]. The college of arts in this town was a foundation of Francis I, which had survived the troubles of religion. Like the town generally, it was protestant, and managed by the consuls. The administration of the college was conducted by a rector, who was by the statutes one of the professors, elected for two years only. But he was re-eligible, and in practice it had become customary to continue him in the office as long as he chose. The celebrated Julius Pacius, in the course of his wandering existence, had held the rectorate at Nîmes for two or three years. When Scaliger said that

[11] Lingelshemii epp. ep. 80. [12] Ep. 593. [13] Ep. 623.

[14] The account which pastor Borrell has given of the academy of Nîmes, Bullet. de la soc. prot. 13. 288, would have been more valuable if the authorities, on which it is based, had been cited.

if he were to quit Leyden, the place he should choose to set up his staff in would be Nîmes[15]; he had in view not only the climate, but the character of the college.

Theology was less exclusively dominant there than in any of the other protestant academies. This is not saying much; and though there were teachers of some repute at the college, among them several Scots, there was not sun and air enough for a Casaubon, much less for a Scaliger. In 1605, however, the consuls made Isaac the formal offer of a chair, and the rectorate. They would give 600 crowns, and a roomy house. The amount shows the importance they attached to Casaubon's presence, as the previous rector, Charles d'Aubus, had only a third of the sum. Even Pacius at Montpellier, where he now was, was only at 500 crowns, besides fees however. Six hundred crowns was the highest honorarium then paid to any teacher in the faculty of arts, and was only given in rare cases; e. g. it was what had been offered to Lipsius to induce him to settle in the university of Paris. 'Never,' writes Casaubon[16], 'do I remember to have been in greater perplexity as to what I should do. For months past I have been agitated by this deliberation. When I think of my studies, I should choose to live and die here, where there is wealth of books. And de Thou bids me not to think of removal. I must consider my great patron too, who, I know, likes me—one point only excepted. And then the distance from you (Scaliger)!' In 1606 the negotiation is still pending. Adam Abernethey, one of the scottish regents, writes

[15] Scaligerana, p. 169: 'Si je voulois demeurer en quelque lieu je choisirois ce pays de Nismes pour y planter mon bourdon.'

[16] Ep. 456.

to Casaubon[17], promising himself great profit in learning from his settlement at Nîmes. But across this proposal came the more eligible Heidelberg offer, and Nîmes was dropped.

Another place of retreat, of which Casaubon had once thought, was Sedan[18]. In the little court kept by the duc de Bouillon, there were to be seen nobles and princes, among them the duke's nephews, the sons of the elector palatine, resorting thither as a place where they could combine a protestant education with the advantage of learning the french tongue. It was not that he might mix with princes and nobles that Sedan was chosen by Isaac as Meric's school. As a kind of frontier fort on the confines of the protestant north, it offered facilities for escape in case of a religious outbreak. We find, however, no actual proposal for settling there made by Isaac. The unsettled relations between the duke and the french government in these years made it uncertain how long the little principality would continue to enjoy that semi-independence which was the only guarantee of its preserving its protestantism.

At one time Isaac planned a visit to Venice. This was suggested by Fra Paolo. Not that the father invited him. On the contrary, he gave him a hint to stay away. 'The air of Italy might easily disagree with him[19];' a significant hint from one who had just escaped assassination. Casaubon had been in correspondence with this remarkable person since 1604. It was indeed a correspondence conducted under difficulties. Casaubon could not use the channel of the french ambassador, his former friend, now become, like all perverts, an ultramontane enragé. Consequently, his letters

[17] Burney MSS. 363. [18] Ep. 233. [19] Ep. 811.

were long on the road; one of them, with a copy of the Polybius, eleven months[20]. Casaubon had introduced himself to Fra Paolo in his usual way. The father knew of him, of course, and not only knew of him in 1604, when Isaac had already acquired a name, but had done so ever since his notes on Diogenes Laertius. This fact shows how closely Fra Paolo watched the publishing world. A scrubby volume, of no particular mark, published in the capital of heresy, had not escaped his eye. In 1606, when father Sarpi's writings on the interdict reached Paris, Casaubon's attention was immediately arrested by them. 'Have you seen,' he asks[21] Scaliger, 'the brochures which have been published at Venice within the last few months? If you have, I should like to hear your opinion of them, especially of that of the great father Paul. In reading them, I cannot but hope that the time is at hand when letters and sacred learning may find a place in those countries.' This hope was hardly uttered before it was extinguished by the settlement of the dispute, France, as always, throwing its weight into the ultramontane scale. But Fra Paolo still lived, in spite of the papal daggers. Accordingly, in March 1610, when delivered from the task of revising his Suetonius, Isaac planned a visit to Venice[22]. 'I wish to see the country, and the learned men who are there, but above all the greatest of them, the famous Paul. I desire also to see with my own eyes the greek church, and to make myself acquainted with its faith and observances. God eternal, do thou forward me on this journey, if it be for the promotion of thy glory, and the welfare of me and mine; if otherwise, prevent it.' The events which

[20] Burney MSS. 365. [21] Ep. 542. [22] Eph. p. 724.

shortly followed may have been the answer to this prayer, making the Italian visit impossible. Saumaise formed a few years later a like purpose, but was diverted from it by a dream [23]. Saumaise's object was to see the classical remains. It will be remarked, as characteristic of the predominance of theological ideas in Isaac Casaubon's mind, that, though his life had been spent upon the classics, and latterly upon Roman history, Polybius, Suetonius, the Augustan historians, he never thinks of the Roman architecture among the objects of a journey to Italy. What he wishes to see is the greek church! The importance of the monuments was not generally recognised by the scholars till the end of the century. To Casaubon, as to his contemporaries, the ancient world was comprised in books. Clement, writing the life of Saumaise in 1656, asks, 'What had, or has, Rome, that the learned should be so desirous of seeing it? Everything which can promote learning and the knowledge of antiquity, be it inscriptions or monuments, is now to be had printed, or engraved, with accuracy, and with far greater neatness and distinctness, than they would be seen in situ.'

On the other hand, it must be placed to Casaubon's credit that he recognised the importance of Paolo Sarpi, and gives him the epithet of 'great,' which is here well placed. In the same way it gives the measure of cardinal Du Perron out of his own mouth, that that charlatan could see nothing eminent in the father, nothing more than common. 'Il a un bon jugement et bon sens, mais de grand sçavoir point. Je n'y vis rien que de commun.' He who to Du Perron seemed 'like any other monk,' was a man whom Casaubon would fain

[23] Vita Salmasii, p. xxxix.

have made a pilgrimage to Venice to see. Among other traits by which our Robert Sanderson reminds us of Isaac Casaubon, is a speech of his recorded by Walton[24], that he wished he had gone as chaplain to sir Henry Wotton, on the Venetian embassy, as was intended, 'as by that means I might have known one of the late miracles of mankind for general learning, prudence, and modesty, Padre Paolo.'

Fra Paolo continued to correspond with Casaubon, and to procure him books, such as, especially Hebrew books[25], could not be met with in France. Casaubon particularly prized his letters[26]. One of these has a peculiar value, as putting forward the father's position towards his own church, as a position for which he could expect sympathy from Casaubon[27]. 'I commend you in that you disapprove those persons who seek to force the fathers to be of their minds. Indeed that kind of interpretation by violence is most reprehensible; but no less a wrong is done to the same fathers when an authority is claimed for them which they never thought of claiming for themselves. Who wishes to be taught by the fathers, should first learn from them, how much weight properly attaches to their words.' He quotes passages of S. Augustin in this sense and proceeds: 'You meet with absurdities on this subject among your friends as well as among ours, and I would not have you lose any temper thereat. As long as there are men, there will be fanaticisms. The wisest man has warned us not to expect the world ever to improve so much that the better part of mankind will be the majority. No wise man undertakes

[24] Life of Sanderson, Works, 6. 326.

[25] Burney MSS. 365. p. 286.

[26] Ep. 812.

[27] Burney MSS. 365. p. 288.

to correct the disorders of the public estate. Be it enough for you, if you do some good to me. The wise man again saith, that he who cannot endure the madness of the public, but goeth about to think he can cure it, is himself no less mad than the rest. Since God has enabled you to see the truth, do you, like Timotheus, sing to yourself and the muses. The just shall live by his faith. Leave the rest alone, your own mind is theatre enough for yourself.—Venice, August 17, 1610.'

It is natural to enquire why was not Casaubon invited to Leyden on Scaliger's death in 1609? That place was not filled till 1632 by the call of Saumaise, who was expressly invited, not to teach, but as Voorst insists in his funeral oration[28], 'that he might shed upon the university the honour of his name, illustrate it by his writings, adorn it by his presence.' The intervening period is an unhappy page of dutch history. Patriotism and public spirit were lost amid doctrinal disputes, in which, barren and unmeaning as they were, all the intellectual energy of the schools of Holland was merged. In 1653, Gronovius (J. F.)[29] writes thus bitterly of the decay of Leyden: 'Expect nothing from us in letters, I do not say great, but not even liberal, or becoming a gentleman. This condition of things has long been preparing. As far back as Scaliger's death, when they might have had Casaubon for lifting up a finger, he was kept out of it, as Bochart

[28] Vita Salmas. p. xlii: 'Ut nominis sui honorem academiæ huic impertiret, scriptis eandem illustraret, præsentia condecoraret.'

[29] Burmann, Syll. 5. p. 208: '. . . Casaubonum, cum post Scaligeri mortem, percussione, ut sic dicam, digitorum possent habere, excluserunt illi maxime æmuli, quos ille sibi fidissimos ibi putabat . .' There can be no doubt that Dan. Heinsius is the person intended.

was lately, by the jealousy of the very persons whom he thought he could most rely upon. They expelled Vossius, they expelled Meursius. Themselves, they never formed a single disciple, or follower who was worth anything; never gave any advice worth having about the method of study. Their only object was to deter or suppress rising talent, while they openly professed a cynical contempt of the very studies which had brought themselves into notice.'

Casaubon had many friends in Holland, which was now becoming a centre of learning, and rendezvous of learned men. Vulcanius, Baudius, Bertius, Scriverius, Cunæus, Drusius, Meursius,—with all these he was in relations more or less close. With Grotius he had been in correspondence since 1602, and became personally acquainted with him in England at a later period. Vandermyle, the ambassador from the States General to the court of France, was among his patrons. But his principal correspondent at Leyden, after the death of Scaliger, was Daniel Heinsius. They were both united in the culte of the hero, and this was their only bond of union. Heinsius did not realise in his maturity the promise of his early years. Instead of a second Scaliger he turned out a fine writer. An elegant latinist, his lectures and orations were charming. In this spirit he edited various classical writers, with commentaries in which superficial knowledge is thinly concealed by refined taste. His mind was given elsewhere,—to pushing his fortunes—and he wrote of the classics as a man of the world writes of them. Casaubon, who saw the Poetics, the Theophrastus, and the Horatius, cannot have been blind to their worthlessness. But he will not say so. It was not that he was disarmed by the constant

homage paid by the commentator to himself as 'vir incomparabilis,' it is that the memory of Heinsius' devotion to Scaliger protects him from criticism, nay, even extorts praise of the garrulous notes, elegant, witty, but uninstructive. But Casaubon's praise is cold, and altogether his correspondence with Heinsius, though it was continued to the last, is the most unsatisfactory of any that has been preserved after they cease to write about Scaliger. The two correspondents are always complaining of each other for not writing, and wishing each other to write oftener, and when they do write, they have nothing to send each other, but forced compliments. Casaubon would have sent over Meric to study under Heinsius, whose eager nature and ready abundance made him an excellent teacher. But in 1610 it would not have suited Heinsius' purpose to have had Isaac himself at Leyden, any more than the call of Saumaise suited him in 1630.

APPENDIX TO 4.

NOTE A. p. 160.

IN the 'Trésor des merveilles de Fontainebleau, par le Père Dan, 1642, is an account of the conference, founded upon information given the author by one who was present. One incident, in which Casaubon's name occurs, I have not met with elsewhere. P. 162: 'Alors un certain ministre de l'erreur, qui estoit proche du sieur Casaubon, luy ayant dit qu'il n'y avoit point au texte grec (of S. Chrysostom) de négation, et Casaubon, qui tenoit le livre, luy faisant voir du contraire, il demeura si confus qu'il se retira promptement parmy la presse, et servit de risée à la compagnie. le roy dit alors ce bon mot; "que c'estoit un jeune carabin, qui après avoir tiré son coup de pistolet, s'estoit retiré à l'écart."'

NOTE B. p. 171.

The authorities for Casaubon's seven removals of abode in Paris are as follows. Ep. 541: 'Spatio annorum vix septem, septies huc illuc libraria mea supellex est circumlata.' 1. He arrives in Paris March 6, 1600, at de Vic's hotel. Eph. p. 234: 2. March 28, he leaves de Vic to become the guest of his wife's cousin, Henri Estienne. Eph. p. 239: 'Cujus probitas nos illexit ut ejus hospitio vellemus uti.' He leaves for Lyons May 30, and returns, this time with all his household, to Henri Estienne's. Eph. pp. 261, 298. 3. October 25, he first establishes himself in an apartment of his own. Eph. p. 306: 'Demum conducto hospitio.' It is very uncomfortable. Eph. p. 326: 'Incommodi non parum ex habitatione priore,' and 4. he quits it, January 24, 1601, for one in the house of 'viri honesti D. Georgii.' 5. July 17. Another removal. Eph. p. 360: 'Familia in has ædes migravit.' This was a house found him by Achille de Harlay. Gillot, ep. franç. p. 105: 'Monsieur le prémier président qui l'ayme comme

sa vertu le mérite, l'a logé bravement et assez près de nous.' Eph. p. 360: 'Ædium commoditas.' Ep. 385: 'Abest longius a bibliotheca.' 6. October, 1604. Ep. 432: 'Mihi tandem inventum hospitium, illud quidem angustum et non nimis commodum, sed in quo tamen, ego atquè uxor, hoc præsertim rerum statu, acquiescimus. Dominus ædium est senator Gallus, sive Coq, qui vastissimam domum sibi nuper ædificavit, et angulum quendam a reliquo corpore separavit quod mercede locaret. τὸ ἐνοίκιον est aureorum centum.' It was in the faubourg S. Germain. Address of letters, Burney MSS. 365. p. 23. 7. Finally, he settled close to the library. Ep. 461: 'Notissima est Franciscanorum λαύρα, in qua regione habito prope ædem illorum.' Ep. 456: 'Libras pendo annuatim in hac urbe quingentas.' Address of letters, Burney MSS. 364. p. 12, 'vis-à-vis des Cordeliers.' Madrid he began to frequent in May, 1604, Ep. 397, Schulze, ep. 9. La Bretonnière was substituted for Madrid in the summer of 1606, Burney MSS. 365. address of letters. Grigny was acquired in 1607, Eph. p. 540.

NOTE C. p. 174.

The long struggle of the university of Paris against the Jesuits (1564–1620) has been generally treated as an episode of the history of the Gallican church. It ought to be viewed as an integral part of the history of letters and civilisation in France. The official history by M. Jourdain, which is sufficiently copious in point of detail, does not place the true issue clearly before the reader. University reform was the terrain upon which the liberals contended with the reaction. On this, as on every other point, the victory, after the avènement of Henri IV, remained with the catholic and obscurantist party. This fact is entirely disguised, or ignored, in the general histories, which make much of the reformation of September 18, 1600. Ultramontanism, indeed, received a signal check. The authority of the lay sovereign was vindicated, as against the ecclesiastical. Whereas the previous 'reform' had been carried through by a cardinal legate, in the name of the pope, the reform of 1600 was conducted without reference to the legate, by a royal commission. This point, and it was a great one, gained for the gallican and national party, the reformers had exhausted their strength. The first article of the new statutes enacted the exclusion of all non-catholics not only from teaching, but from being taught, in the public schools. Whatever de Thou and Achille

de Harlay may have wished, they could not have got Casaubon appointed one of the professors of the collège royal. M. Martin, indeed, makes him one, Hist. de France, 10. 478: 'En dépit des lettres patentes de Charles IX, qui avaient exclu le protestant Ramus, Henri IV. appela parmi les professeurs le protestant Casaubon, l'érudition incarnée.' M. Martin adds that the reform of 1600 was so sound and durable that 'au fond nous en vivons encore.' That is true, except that the insignificance of the university of Paris in point of science and learning dates from 1572 instead of from 1600. For a full exposé of the character of the statutes of 1600, M. Martin refers to 'un très bon chapitre' of M. Poirson's elaborate monograph on Henri IV. M. Poirson is equally blind to the capital fact of this 'reform,' viz. that it was the triumph of catholicism. The university was kept in subordination to the church. Over this decisive fact M. Poirson glides, by the statement, 3. 763: 'Les statutes pourvoient dès les prémiers articles, à ce que la jeunesse des collèges soit élevée dans la connoissance et la pratique de la religion, à ce que son éducation soit éminemment chrétienne.'

NOTE D. p. 205.

The 'Excerpta Eusebiana' form the most considerable fragments remaining of the greek 'Chronica' of Eusebius. They are found in cod. reg. 2600, a MS. of sæc. 15, consisting of miscellaneous extracts, grammatical, historical, etc. They are printed in Scaliger's 'Thesaurus Temporum,' Add. p. 224, and more fully, in Cramer, Anecd. Paris, 2. 115. The copy sent to Scaliger at Leyden was made by Charles Labbé, and collated with the original by Casaubon. Ep. 446: 'Contulimus, et studiose *ἀπόγραφον* ipsius (Labbé) cum autographo contendimus, ut de fide lectionis dubitare non debeas. Quod si quædam occurrent mendosa, occurrent autem nonnulla, scito non aliter in regio codice esse scriptum.' The errors which Cramer attributes to Scaliger's text are, according to Bernays, corrections silently made by Scaliger. See fuller account of the find, and the delight which it gave Scaliger, in Bernays, J. J. Scaliger, Bel. no. 73, Casaubonische Excerpte.

5.

LONDON.

1610—1614.

Of possible places of refuge in case of necessity, there remained—England. Had it been 200 years earlier, nothing would have been more simple, than that a learned man, who was dissatisfied in Paris, should have migrated to Oxford, for a time, or for life. But now it was different. Neither North nor South Britain entered into the comity of nations, in such a way that natives of all countries indiscriminately circulated through our universities, either as students or professors, as they had once done, and as they still did in the other parts of western Europe. Casaubon tells Baudius[1], 'It is not the manner of the English to import distinguished men of learning from other countries.' And Thomson writes to the same[2]; 'Our English students seldom travel abroad, so that you need not wonder that you see so few of them where you are.' But the settlement of the foreigner

[1] Ep. 853: 'Non est mos Anglorum, ut viros eruditione claros aliunde accersant.'

[2] Baudii epp. p. 514: 'Angli nostri studiosi raro peregrinantur, quare mirum non est si pauci ad vos confluunt.' Thomson to Dom. Baudius, 1605.

in London was of common occurrence, while, more often still, travelled Englishmen contracted intimacy and maintained correspondence with continental scholars.

Alberic Gentilis had recently died (1608) as professor of civil law at Oxford; Saravia was still living as canon of Canterbury; Theodore Diodati was residing in Aldersgate; Dr. Raphael Thoris, a native of Flanders, lived in Broad Street; and Lobel at Highgate, through in extreme old age. Even at the universities, in the first twenty years of the seventeenth century, more than twenty names of foreigners, entered or graduated at Oxford, may be found in the records.

Besides, there were other conditions, at the present juncture, which might serve to recommend England to Casaubon as his choice, or reconcile him to it as a necessity.

The reigning prince was a lover, if not of learning, at least of a kind of theological lore which borrowed its lights from learning. James I. surrounded himself with divines whose talk was of fathers and councils. 'He doth wondrously covet learned discourse,' writes lord Howard to Harington[3], not indeed of the grand classical antiquity, for which none about him had eye or ear, but the bastard antiquity of the fourth century. They searched the ecclesiastical writers for precedents in support of English episcopacy, but they read them in the original, and this served to maintain greek at a premium. For the first and the last time in our annals, the court was the theatre of these learned discussions. Nothwithstanding foibles which have handed down his character to ridicule,

[3] Harington, Nugæ antiq. I. 390.

neither the understanding nor the attainments of James were contemptible. But his speech and action had a taint of puerility which degraded them. The ironical nickname of the British Solomon incurably clings to the only English prince who has carried to the throne knowledge derived from reading, or any considerable amount of literature. Despised by the men of business as a pedant, James had 'by far the best head in his council[4].' In the piteous condition of learning and the learned at that time, without patron or home, it was natural that the eyes of these outcasts of society should be directed to the only court in Europe where their profession was in any degree appreciated. And Casaubon was not wholly without acquaintance and correspondents even among insular Britons.

We have seen how his position at Geneva led to his acquaintance with the 'roving Englishman,' and in the instances of Wotton and Thomson even to intimacy. In 1601, Spotswood, then only minister of Calder, afterwards archbishop of Glasgow, and Andrew Lamb, afterwards bishop of Galloway, came over to Paris in the suite of the duke of Lennox, ambassador extraordinary from the king of Scots. Even in 1601, Casaubon was sufficiently known to be sought out by foreigners of curiosity who visited Paris. Spotswood brought, not exactly a message from James VI, but told Casaubon that his learning and piety were well known to that learned monarch. Spotswood urged him to address a letter of compliment to James. Casaubon did so, and wasted, to his great grief, two days in penning an inflated epistle in the usual style of tasteless adulation, which Spotswood carried back and duly delivered.

[4] Spedding, Life of Bacon, 4. 278.

James replied to his dearest Casaubon, telling him that, 'besides the care of the church, it was his fixed resolve to encourage letters and learned men, as he considered them the strength, as well as the ornament, of kingdoms.' He concluded by hoping that Casaubon would visit him in Edinburgh, now he was so near, as he would much prefer talking to him to writing to him. Casaubon could from this time reckon a crowned head among his regular correspondents. But James' accession to the English throne, which was the signal for others, who had overlooked him before, to fall on the knee before him as suitors, only deterred Casaubon from further correspondence. Indeed his stock of flattery must have been exhausted, and the two letters which he addressed in 1601 and 1602 to 'a sovereign such as Plato had imagined but never seen,' consisted of very commonplace incense. He not only did not join the throng of applicants, but did not even write the congratulatory epistle, which might naturally have been expected of him. He would not 'come with his pitcher to Jacob's well as others do,' as Bacon said of himself. He had indeed solicited, through Spotswood, the charity of the king of Scots, but not for himself,—for Beza, who in extreme age was without the most necessary comforts,—for the Academy of Geneva which was struggling to exist with an empty exchequer and no resources[5]. From this time there were constant reports among Casaubon's friends in France and Germany that he had been invited to England, long before any thought of this kind had been entertained by any one in this

[5] Ep. 343.

country. In 1603, L'Hermite had heard it at Soleure[6]. In 1609, Scipio Gentilis had heard it at Altorf. 'Nugæ, nugæ,' writes Casaubon[7] in answer to this letter. 'I have been invited, but not by the king, and in a way quite different from what you suppose.' The invitations were from friends to pay them a visit, not offers of preferment from a patron.

Gradually Casaubon began to plan a visit; but a visit might be a reconnaissance. He would see if the island could afford him a safe retirement from the worry and controversial baiting which made his life in Paris intolerable. He mentioned the scheme as a thing he had in view, to Scaliger. Scaliger discouraged it. As early as 1604 he wrote[8]:—'Surely you will not give up a certainty for an uncertainty. Settlement in a foreign country is at best but a hazardous experiment. You would put yourself to the cost of a removal, and then only be laughed at by all the court monkeys for your credulity. I could tell you much of the English, what a disagreeable people they are, inhospitable to foreigners, particularly churlish to Frenchmen, against whom they cherish a traditional antipathy. If it be in the fates that you are to settle in England, at least do not precipitate the event. Wait till you are called; do not offer yourself, and sell your venture at as high a price as you can.'

Scaliger's advice was dictated by his own feelings. He overlooked one attraction which the English invitation contained for Casaubon, because it would have been no attraction for himself. In 1604, when Scaliger's advice as above was given, Casaubon had

[6] Burney MSS. 364, L'Hermite to Casaubon, 1603.

[7] Ep. 630.

[8] Scalig. Epp. pp. 241. 253.

hardly begun that dissatisfaction with the calvinist worship which in 1610 had grown into a serious grievance to his conscience. He had been gradually worked into this state of mind by the necessity of daily encountering the catholic disputants. The ministers of his own communion scouted antiquity, of which they were ignorant, and which Casaubon regarded as the only arbiter of the quarrel. Books fell in his way written on this side of the channel, in which he met with a line of argument very different from the uninstructed, but presumptuous dogmatism of the calvinist ministers. He found to his surprise and delight that there were others besides himself who could respect the authority of the fathers, without surrendering their reason to the dicta of the papal church. The young anglo-catholic school which was then forming in England took precisely the ground which Casaubon had been led to take against Du Perron.

The change of face which English theology effected in the reign of James I. is, to our generation, one of the best known facts in the history of our church. But it is often taken for granted that this revolution was brought about by the ascendancy of one man, whose name is often used to denominate the school as the Laudian school of divines. Laud was the political leader, but in this capacity only the agent of a mode of thinking which he did not invent. Anglo-catholic theology is not a system of which any individual thinker can claim the invention. It arose necessarily, or by natural development, out of the controversy with the papal advocates, as soon as that controversy was brought out of the domain of pure reason into that of learning. That this peculiar

compromise, or via media, between romanism and calvinism developed itself in England, and nowhere else in Christendom, is owing to causes which this is not the place to investigate. But that it was a product, not of english soil, but of theological learning wherever sufficient learning existed, is evidenced by the history of Casaubon's mind, who now found himself, in 1610, an anglican ready made, as the mere effect of reading the fathers to meet Du Perron's incessant attacks.

England thus seemed to open to Isaac Casaubon not only an asylum from the teasing persecution of the convertisseurs, but a church whose doctrines and ministrations were more congenial than were afforded him in his own communion, and which in a great measure realised the ideal he had formed from the study of catholic antiquity.

His wish, formerly entertained, to visit Venice in search of the greek church, now gave place to a desire to visit England, and see for himself the english church. He mentioned his wish to the king, and begged leave of absence. Henri always put him off, wishing the irrevocable step of conversion to be taken before he trusted him out of his sight. But Casaubon, though obliged to defer its execution, persisted in his intention. On April 20 he wrote to James I, intimating clearly the wish at which he had before only distantly hinted. But he could not leave, even for a visit, without an open rupture with a master to whom he was bound by duty, gratitude, and interest.

On May 14, 1610, these bonds were severed in a fatal moment by the knife of a wretched fanatic. The first moments of terror were passed by Casaubon at Grigny, where he was when the news reached him.

The king was wounded. The evening was spent in dreadful suspense. Next morning a special messenger sent out by Madame Casaubon brought the real truth. Death had followed instantaneously upon the second stroke of the assassin's knife, but the secret had been so well kept that Lestoile tells us[9] that at 5 p.m. it was only at the Louvre it was known that the king was dead. Casaubon determined, whatever the danger might be, to share it with his friends, and immediately returned to Paris[10]. The terror of the huguenots was sufficiently visible in the irresolution of Sully. He set off, on the 14th, to drive to the Louvre, thinking the king only wounded. But finding he was dead, he dared not show himself, and retired to the arsenal. It was not till the next morning that he ventured to appear in his place at the council. The protestants had expected the mob to rise and repeat '72. No movement of the sort took place. The Parisians were stunned for the moment by the greatness of the blow.

The assassination took place on April 14. On the 17th Du Perron returned to the charge. Casaubon was sent for, and had to hear a lecture upon the true sense of some of the passages usually relied on against transubstantiation. The cardinal saw that if he were to have Casaubon it must be now. The tie that had bound him to France was severed. He knew Casaubon's cherished wish to visit England, and foreboded in what the visit would end.

Both parties felt that the crisis of the long struggle was come. Casaubon, simple-minded as he was, must

[9] Registre-journal, p. 586.

[10] Ep. 695: 'Ut quicquid bonis futurum esset, sors illorum mihi cum bonis esset communis.'

have understood that he was now at the mercy of the court. The alternative offered him now, whatever it might have been before, was conversion or dismissal. But the cardinal, with a fine tact, continued to treat the question as one of pure learning, and love of truth. He makes no allusion to Casaubon's altered circumstances, avoiding thus any alarm to his conscience or his pride. Casaubon, on his part, though aware that the bread of his family is at stake, and though agitated to distraction by the complication in which he finds himself entangled, exhibits himself to us, not only in his familiar letters, but in the secret pages of the diary, endeavouring, with an honest and honourable soul, to find out on which side his actual opinions placed him. It is clear that his struggle is not between his conscience and his preferment, it is an intellectual struggle, an endeavour to choose between the rival churches.

It is not surprising that historians, looking at the broad outline of things, should have fixed on Casaubon the charge of 'wavering.' Meric has replied to the round assertion of Heribert Rosweyd that his father Isaac had promised the cardinal to make his recantation at Whitsuntide, but was anticipated by the english invitation. The only answer which this unsupported assertion admitted of, or deserved, was a flat contradiction. It was simply a lie with a circumstance, such as were hatched by the dozen in the jesuit colleges of that period. But impartial historians, e. g. Hallam[11], have spoken of Casaubon's 'wavering' as a fact. If there be a moment in his life on which the charge of having wavered can be fixed, it is the moment at which we are now arrived. Yet at this very moment,

[11] Hallam, Lit. Hist. 2. 302.

the perversion of his eldest son, John, of which he heard August 14, drew from him the bitter cry of pain which is recorded under that date. The heart from which that cry of paternal anguish was wrung was in no mood to fraternise with the crew of intriguers by whom the blow had been dealt. What on a cursory inspection of Casaubon's remains looks like wavering will, I think, be found on a closer view to be a more complex mental state. He was indeed in an intellectual difficulty, but it was that he found his own opinions coincide neither with calvinism, nor with ultramontanism. He had been forced by reading, and controversy, into a middle position between the two, and did not yet know how far the position thus created was a tenable one, or that it was shared by others besides himself. Circumstances were preparing his removal to a country, in which to his surprise he found a whole national church encamped on the ground, on which he had believed himself to be an isolated adventurer.

Meantime he had escaped into the country, and hid himself in his retreat at Grigny as much as his duties in the library would allow. The cardinal, too, had graver business to call him off from his pursuit of Casaubon. Things in France were rapidly going in the direction which had been foreseen. The first shock had sobered parties and inspired a momentary patriotism. On June 1, Casaubon[12] wrote that the hand of providence was visible in the unanimity of all the great men and nobles to fly to the aid of their country. Before another month his language is changed. On June 25 he writes to Heinsius[13]: 'The most grievous thing to me is the murder not being pursued in the

[12] Ep. 674. [13] Ep. 675.

way of justice as it ought to be. It is notorious whose teaching it was that instigated the fatal deed, who they are who have proclaimed regicide as a principle; yet we sleep on in utter indifference. I cannot express to you the anguish of mind from which I am now suffering. It is not mere regard for my own individual prospects which tortures me, and makes me pass sleepless nights, but a sense of the public calamity which is fallen on my country.'

On June 15 the english embassy had written[14] to the same effect: 'The duke D'Espernon doth act, if not the chiefest, at the least the most busy and intruding part in this comedy,—I pray God it do not prove a tragedy,—who, joyned with the count of Soissons and the jesuites, together with some of the greatest officers, doth begin by their meanes to encroach upon the chiefest authority and administration.' To the same effect Casaubon[15] writes on September 6: 'Things here are come to that pass that we shall all soon be mere slaves of the loyolites. I know my countrymen well enough to know that they will not submit to the yoke without some convulsive spasms; but submit they will in the end; the powers that be are engaged on that side.' Nor was it only the court which was inclining to the roman and spanish interest. The passions of the mob were engaged in the cause, and in the hot nights of midsummer the panic of the huguenots was renewed. If there were an outbreak, they knew that they would be the first victims. The jesuit writers affirm that these terrors were feigned. They may have been unreasonable—a panic always is—but they were real. Casaubon's

[14] Winwood, Memorials, 3. 189, Beaulieu to Trumbull.

[15] Ep. 684.

diary records that on July 19 he was unable to do anything, owing to his friends flocking in terror to his house, which was in the most dangerous (the latin) quarter. On July $\frac{1}{11}$ Beaulieu[16], wrote from Paris: 'There have been such alarms taken these three or four nights by those of the weaker side, that the duke of Bouillon and the prince of Condé . . . did sit up with all their household in arms almost all those nights long. . . . A man can see nothing almost in the streets but carrying and providing of arms in every house, as it were upon assured expectation of imminent disorder.'

It was in the thick of these alarms that the decisive invitation to England reached Casaubon's hands (July 20). It was an official invitation from the archbishop of Canterbury[17]. As far back as March, or earlier, definite proposals had been sent him in an unofficial way through sir George Carew, the ex-ambassador, in whose household Philippa had died. The archbishop (Bancroft) now writes himself, reiterating the terms which had been before proposed. Casaubon was assured 'that his coming among them would be welcomed by them all; that a prebend of Canterbury, then actually vacant, was reserved for him; and as the income of the stall might not be sufficient for his maintenance, a promise was added that it might be increased from other sources. He might come over and see for himself. Or, if he chose to throw himself for good upon the generosity of the king, and to rely upon the assurances now given him by the archbishop, he might remove his family at once. In the latter case he was to draw

[16] Winwood's Mem. 3. 191.

[17] Burney MSS. 263, printed ap. Russell, p. 1097.

upon the english embassy for £30 for the expenses of the journey. Any how, when he comes he would find the archbishop ready to do his utmost in his behalf. Finally, the archbishop, while leaving the choice entirely to Casaubon's own discretion, seemed to recommend a private retreat, in preference to a public withdrawal from the French service.

The terms of this communication were somewhat vague, but Casaubon was able to put an exact value upon them by the aid of sir G. Carew's letter of March 12. The archbishop, it will be observed, speaks of the king's generosity, and the archbishop's honour. This was delicate, as the provision designed for him was a contribution to be made up out of the bishops' own purses. The prebendal stall was valued at £88, besides house, fuel, and corn, and the bishops were to subscribe among themselves what would make it up to equal what he was getting in France, till he could be further provided for out of church revenues. The king does not appear to have promised anything, though he may have intended to give him something more in the church. The invitation was from the archbishop, but there can be no doubt that the king himself was promoting the step. As early as 1608, Bancroft had carried a copy of the 'De libertate ecclesiastica' to James, who had been so delighted with it, that for many days he could talk of nothing but Casaubon[18].

The stalls at Canterbury were not of the archbishop's collation. But Bancroft was not unwilling to be the channel of communication, as it cost him nothing, and it was well understood in England that Casaubon was as little inclined to favour Bancroft's

[18] Burney MSS. 366. p. 141.

enemies, the puritans, as the king's enemies, the ultramontanes. He viewed Casaubon, and no other view was taken of him by the other persons concerned, the king excepted, as an instrument of controversy, which it was desirable to enlist in the service of the english church. James himself, who was just now very busy with pamphlet writing, and who was commissioning his ambassador at the Hague [19] 'to find some smart jesuit with a quick and nimble spirit' to write against Vorstius, doubtless designed employment of the same sort for Casaubon. But he also promised himself much delectation from this addition to his sanhedrim.

After the receipt of the official invitation, Casaubon still lingered some months in France. The delay was caused by the difficulty of obtaining the necessary permission from the court. He did not think proper to make the clandestine departure which Bancroft had suggested. He applied for, and at last obtained, a furlough in form. It was understood [20] that he was to make a visit of a few weeks, leaving his family and his library behind; and [21] he solemnly engaged himself to return whenever he should be summoned.

The ambassador extraordinary, lord Wotton of Marley, who was on his return to England, offered him a place in his suite. Besides a free passage, he thus enjoyed many advantages above the ordinary traveller. Yet his sufferings were still such as to make us wonder at the readiness with which our ancestors met the dangers and horrors of the channel.

[19] Winwood's Mem. 3. 311.

[20] Ep. 864: 'Qui paucas hebdomadas me hæsurum in Britannia spoponderam.'

[21] Ep. 700.

We abridge his own graphic narrative from the diary and the letters to his family [22].

The cavalcade were eight days on the road between Paris and Calais, which they reached October 15. Here they were detained, waiting for the king's ship, which was to be sent to bring over the ambassador.

'The 17th of October was Sunday, when I would fain have joined public worship, but had to think of somewhat else. For my lord had ordered two transports, one for our baggage, the other for the horses; and the whole morning was spent in getting them on board. As the ship of the royal navy did not arrive, my lord was much in doubt whether he should wait for it, or should hire one that lay in the harbour, where there were some 150 vessels, small, and mostly fishing boats. As we could hardly hope to set sail this day, my lord bade us sit down to dinner. Himself and his lady would not eat, in case they might, after all, have to go on board. We sat down and had gotten to about the second course, when word was brought that the wind had now become dead against the passage to England. Upon this the ambassador and his lady also sat down. After dinner I walked down to the harbour, and had hardly returned to the inn, when I found the face of things changed, and that we were to sail at once. A ship had come from England, not indeed a king's ship, but one of large burden, too big to enter the harbour, and was now at anchor a league out to sea. We were rowed off to it in boats, I having wrapped myself up in my galligaskins against the cold. It was about two when we got on board, and, the wind being favourable, we hoped to be at

[22] Eph. p. 769, compared with ep. 691.

Dover in about three or four hours. Joyful therefore, I stepped on to the big ship, the first vessel of any size I had ever seen, with three sails and the royal arms of England on a silken flag. We got under way, our hopes mounting high, when on a sudden the wind veered round dead against us. Do what we could, we could not make head against it, and night coming on, the captain knew not whereabouts we were. One while we were said to be within ten miles of the English coast; then back at Calais or Peronne, or I know not where. Having never been at sea before, I was badly sea sick from the first, and for some hours suffered much from pain and faintness. Nothing could exceed the kindness shown me by my lord and lady and by many of the suite. They took me down into my lord's private cabin and placed me in his bed. At last the violent rain driving my lord and lady off the deck, I was obliged to be removed to an aftercabin with many charges that I should be taken care of. Here I could have done pretty well but for the plague of mischievous beasts, which came out of the sailors' clothes on which I lay. To me and all of us the night seemed incredibly long, and I understood the force of the words in the Acts, "they wished for the day." When at last we reached the harbour we had a narrow escape of being wrecked against it in entering it, the prow of the vessel being heavily crushed. But we escaped harm and were at last safely housed in our inn.'

From Dover his first thought was to write home a full account of the perils he had braved. He had already written from Amiens to his son John, and his nephew Isaac. He repeats his cautions, and puts precise questions, to which he demands precise answers.

[23] 'As you love me and respect my commands, I charge you to let me hear from you at London how my wife is, and how she takes my absence. My books and papers you will take especial care of. The king's library, Isaac, is in your individual keeping. Do not be too easy in admitting anyone into the room, and never more than one person at a time. Explain to monseigneur de Thou how it happened that that volume I borrowed of him was not returned before my departure, and let no one touch the book except by his orders. Tell your mother that those English coins which Madame Gentilis let me have, and which I wrote to say I had left behind in my study, I found in my chest, in a corner where I had stowed them myself. Let me have an account how Gentille, Jeanne, and Anne behave; as for Paul, I persuade myself he is already grown quite a scholar. Tell me also about Marie, whom I did not embrace at parting, and about the rest of the children; about all the Desbordes family. Has my wife been to Grigny? What has she done about that rascally bailiff? In short, tell me everything, public or private, which I ought to know.'

At Canterbury he was detained some days by the hospitality of his travelling companion, Benjamin Carier. Carier was one of the prebendaries, and was now proud to introduce Casaubon to the chapter, of which it was intended that he should become one. It is characteristic of Casaubon's irritability and placability, that he now commends the obliging entertainment he met with from Carier, as warmly as he had before grumbled at his selfishness during the journey. Carier was one of the high church party, and boasts

[23] Ep. 691.

to Casaubon[24] that he always says the morning and evening prayer, as the law prescribes. He it was who afterwards received Casaubon's dividend, as prebendary, and accounted for it to him.

Carier's kindness may not have been altogether disinterested. The deanery of Rochester becoming vacant a year later, he sought to avail himself of Casaubon's supposed interest at court to get it for him. He pleaded that 'the deanery was a very poor one, and that he, holding the living of Thornham in the neighbourhood, had advantages for the exercise of hospitality at Rochester.' Bancroft was not averse to pluralities; 'a doublet is necessary in cold weather,' he is reported to have said. But the deanery was given to Milbourne, and shortly afterwards Carier, being abroad, caused great scandal, in high church circles, by going over. He was a man of more than common reading, and possessed some books, many of which were new to Casaubon, who did not neglect the opportunity of going through them. Among others he mentions the Calvino-Turcismus, in which Rainolds, the roman catholic brother of the president of Corpus, made out an ingenious parallel between the calvinists and mahometans,[25] 'a book, on account of its style and recondite learning, by no means to be despised.'

Casaubon was delighted with Canterbury, both the place and the people[26], though the church services seemed unnatural to him, and he felt odd to be keeping a saint's day—S. Luke's—which happened during his stay.

[24] Burney MSS. 363. Carier to Casaubon, 1611. [25] Eph. p. 779.

[26] Ep. 1045: 'Cum hospitis mei, tum aliorum præstantissimorum virorum eximia humanitate ita sum captus, et loci elegantia atque amœnitate sic quotidie oblector . . .'

On October 29, he set off for London, and was hospitably received at the deanery of S. Paul's by Overall, as had been arranged for him by Carier. No time was lost in presenting him to the archbishop, to whom he was taken the very day of his arrival. He was most graciously received by the venerable prelate, who detained him some time in conversation[27]. It was at once intimated to him that if he could make up his mind to stay in the country, it was the wish of the king and the bishops, that he should do so. Two days afterwards he paid a second visit to Lambeth, and this was the last time he was to see Bancroft, who died a few days after this interview, November 12. In him Casaubon thought he had lost a special friend and patron[28]. He did not promise himself the same friendliness from the new archbishop. Abbot had had no share in inviting Casaubon to England, and his[29] 'behaviour and carriage toward the greatest nobility in the kingdom, was,' what Laud thought, 'very insolent and inexcusable.' In this respect Casaubon was agreeably disappointed. Abbot was uniformly friendly to him, sent for him often to Lambeth or to Croydon, made him a present regularly at Christmas, and consented to be godfather to a son, James, the only child born to him in England.

The other bishops vied with each other in welcoming him, and fêting him, in the hospitable english way, by entertaining him at dinner. Overall, not only took in Isaac himself at the deanery, but also his wife and family when they arrived. Here he made his home for the first twelve months, from October 1610 to

[27] Eph. p. 781 : 'Fuit mihi cum eo multus sermo.'

[28] Eph. p. 797 : 'Quantam jacturam fecerim in morte archiepiscopi videor incipere intelligere.'

[29] Clarendon, Life, 1. 65.

September 1611, though it seems probable[30] that, at least during the dean's absence, who had a house out of town at Islington[31], Casaubon provided his own household expenses. Nor did their civility wear out with the novelty. We find him, up to the last, dining with them both privately[32], and on their grand occasions[33], and presents are sent by them at Christmas to himself or to Madame Casaubon[34].

The bishop of Ely was able to report to the king that Casaubon's reputation was borne out by his conversation. James was impatient to make trial of the new man, and ordered him to be brought out to him to Theobald's. Casaubon, nervously solicitous about the etiquette of the english court, thought that no one less than the archbishop could instruct him, and went out to Lambeth to ask how he was to behave. Bancroft, who must have been amused at his simplicity, made him stay to dinner, and calmed his fears, gratifying him at the same time by the marked attention he showed him. On November 8, Casaubon was taken out to Theobald's in lord Dunbar's carriage[35]. Casaubon met the gracious reception which he had been led to expect, and had the honour of being the principal figure in the circle which stood round the royal chair at supper.

[30] Eph. p. 827.
[31] Burney MSS. 364.
[32] Eph. p. 978.
[33] Eph. p. 1049.
[34] Burney MSS. 364. p. 337.
[35] Sir George Home, cr. 1605, earl of Dunbar at this time, 1610, keeper of the privy purse, the king's declared favourite, of whom Hume says, Hist. of Engl. that 'he was one of the wisest and most virtuous, though the least powerful, of all those whom he honoured with that distinction.' Dunbar's influence, however, overbore that of the whole bench of bishops on one memorable occasion, when he got Abbot promoted to Canterbury instead of Andrewes.

James' learned repasts have been often described, among others, by Hacket[36]: 'The reading of some books before him was very frequent, while he was at his repast; he collected knowledge by variety of questions which he carved out to the capacity of different persons. Methought his hunting humour was not off, while the learned stood about him at his board; he was ever in chase after some disputable doubt, which he would wind and turn about with the most stabbing objections that ever I heard; and was as pleasant and fellow-like in all these discourses, as with his huntsmen in the field. Those who were ripe and weighty in their answers, were ever designed for some place of credit or profit.' Seat and food were for sacred majesty only. It is ill-talking between a full man and a fasting, says the proverb; scarcely less so between one sitting and one standing. It happened this first day, that the king was taken up with a new french pamphlet against himself. The pamphlet was anonymous, and he was attributing it to the one name best known to him, that of cardinal Du Perron. Casaubon was able to undeceive him, to tell him the name of the real author, as well as something about him. James was well satisfied, and Casaubon was ordered to attend again the next day.

Casaubon was rapidly established in the royal favour. The king was insatiable of his conversation, was always sending for him and keeping him talking for hours. James talked well himself, liked a good hearer, but was ready, which is not always the case with good talkers, to listen in return. In graver conversation he was perhaps even superior to what he was in light

[36] Life of Abp. Williams, pt. 2, p. 38; cf. Jessop, Life of Donne, p. xxviii.

talk[37]. 'He loved speculative discourse upon moral and political subjects; and his talent for conducting such discussions is a frequent theme of admiration, not only among his courtiers, but in the unsuborned writings of the foreigners who visited him.' Casaubon on his part was a ready talker[38], and if his french was not good, his matter was inexhaustible. His memory supplied him with an endless store of diversified information on the topics which James liked best. The conversation was conducted in french, which James spoke fluently[39], though we may suppose with a scotch accent. Casaubon, who never could accomplish english, and was compelled with the bishops to stumble on in latin, found his tongue set free in the court circle.

Of these conversations, serious or gossiping, he has only recorded one, and that very scantily[40]. It was one of the first; in November 1610, on the day on which the king commemorated by a solemn service his delivery at Gowrie house. The conversation was directed by the king to general literature. Of Tacitus, James said they were wrong, who thought him the one historian, who was a master of political wisdom. Casaubon was delighted to reply that in his late preface to Polybius, he had passed a similar judgment; and that the historical lesson to be learnt from Polybius was far more instructive. The king blamed Plutarch for his partiality against Cæsar.

In Commines he noticed his flippancy, and his hatred of the english. Casaubon, whose idea of a king's

[37] Chambers, Life of James 1, 2. 154.

[38] Thorii ep. 'sermonis promptissimi.'

[39] Epp. p. 931: 'Hodie regis pietatem, doctrinam, et facultatem utriusque sermonis Gallici et Latini nobis mirari licuit.'

[40] Ep. 704.

conversation was formed upon that of Henri IV, wise and rusé, but who had at most read Amyot's french Plutarch, was astounded by finding here a king who could pronounce opinions original, and not unjust, on classical authors, which he had read himself. M. Saint-Beuve[41] suggests that James disliked Commines for his constitutional opinions in favour of the rights of the états, and adds that there is no levity in the judgment which Commines passed on english institutions. In the king's remark on Tacitus we may probably trace a reminiscence of Buchanan, and a revolt against the notions of his master. Casaubon, when he wrote the passage in his preface to Polybius, was thinking of Lipsius, and meant that the history of the world on an œcumenical scale was a nobler study than that of a court, which exhibited only the triumph of vice and personal despotism. So that the coincidence was more seeming than real.

The king was now bent upon retaining Casaubon permanently in England. He had come over professedly on a short visit. But it had been understood at the english embassy that Casaubon was gone prospecting. In October the ambassador had reported to Winwood[42]: 'M. Casaubon is gone into England, in the company of the lord Wotton, to make a tryall, whether the condition that is offered him for the settling him there shall be to his liking.' An official application was now made to the french government, and an indefinite permission of absence was accorded. That it was a leave of absence and not a dismissal, and that his french pension was to run on, were favours secured for him by personal friends—de Thou or Villeroy. De Thou's prudence desired to keep open

[41] Causeries du lundi, 14. 403. [42] Winwood's Mem. 3. 226.

for him a retreat into France, which circumstances might any day render expedient. Casaubon, on his part, in consenting to remain for a time, reserved his duty to his own sovereign. 'I consider myself,' he writes to Fronto le Duc[43], 'now and always, as long as breath is in my body, the queen's servant.' He had in fact been admitted, before quitting Paris, to an interview with Marie de Medicis, who had strictly charged him to return soon. He had pledged himself to do so, whenever summoned. Stepmother as Paris had been to him, it cost him a pang[44] 'to bid a long farewell to my country and friends.' And he tells de Thou[45] 'that he cannot shake off the painful sense of being an exile; though it is true that the singular kindness with which he is treated by the king softens to him not a little the want of home.'

The king gave the best proof of the interest he took in his new acquisition by providing for him, at once, himself. Bancroft's plan was, as we have seen, that the bishops should subscribe the difference between the income of the Canterbury prebend, and the stipend of the royal librarian. The king came forward at once with a pension of £300 a year from his own purse, in addition to the prebend of Canterbury, and a promise of something more on the church establishment hereafter. A stall at Westminster was named *. This promise was not fulfilled; why I cannot explain, as on Saravia's death, in January 1613, the opportunity was afforded.

The patent conferring the pension runs thus[46]:

[43] Ep. 725.
[44] Eph. 796: 'Durum est et asperum.'
[45] Ep. 702.
* See note A in Appendix.
[46] Rymer, Fœd. 16. 710, reprinted in Russell, p. 1122.

'James, by the grace of God, etc. to all men to whom theis presents shall come, greeting.

'As our progenitors have heretofore beene carefull to call into their realme persons of eminent learning, agreeing in profession of religion with the church of England, and here to make use of them for the furtherance of learning and religion among their people; as namelie of [47] Paulus Fagius, Martin Bucer, Peter Martin, and others; soe have wee, in regard of the singular learning of Isaac Casaubon, and of his concurrancye with us and the church of England in profession of religion, invited him out of Fraunce into this our realme, here to make his aboad; and to be used by us as we shall see cause for the service of the church; and for his better support and mayntenance, during the time of his aboade here; we are pleased to give unto him, and of our especiall grace certayn knowledge and meer motion have given and graunted and by theis presents, for us our heires and successors, doe give and graunt unto the saide Isaac Casaubon a certayn annuitye or pension of three hundred poundes of good and lawfull money of England by the yeare. Witness our self at Westminster the nynteenth daye of Januarie 1611.'

In 1610, James had already begun to feel the pressure of poverty. Even Cecil could not make the

[47] Paulus Fagius (Büchlein) and Martin Bucer (Putzer) came to England together, on the invitation of Abp. Cranmer, in 1549. Zurich Letters, 3. 535. They were entertained at Lambeth before they were removed to Cambridge. Peter Martyr (Vermigli) had preceded them. He came to England in 1547, in company with Bernardino Ochino. A bill of the expenses of their journey from Basel, amounting to £126 7*s.* 6*d.*, as sent in to the privy council, is printed in the Archæologia, 21. 471.

income of the crown cover the expenditure. In 1612 the annual deficit had reached £160000, with a debt of £500000. The king was unable to pay even his brewer's bill. If in this situation of the exchequer we are disposed to look at Casaubon's pension with the eyes of the lord treasurer, we may observe how trifling is its amount, in comparison of the sums which the king habitually lavished on the favourites, who brought him nothing but public hatred and disgrace. James was facile in giving away, rather than liberal. From weakness of character, he yielded to the importunity of the hungry suitors, by whom he was surrounded. In Casaubon's case, what was given was unsolicited, and had at least the colourable appearance of being patronage of learning. James was purchasing some credit at a very cheap rate. The £300 a year spent on Casaubon is some set off against the thousands afterwards squandered on unworthy favourites—on Car, or Villiers.

Casaubon proceeded to take out letters of naturalisation, and to look forward to a permanent settlement in this country. But if, in coming over, he had indulged any hope of being master of his own time, of acquiring at last that 'otium' for which he had been all his life sighing—the leisure, that is, to toil from early dawn till deep into the night in the execution of some cherished literary scheme—he was soon undeceived.

The first and great claimant of his time was the king. Instead of tiring of him as the novelty wore off, the demand for him became more frequent. It grew to be an established custom that he was to present himself every Sunday[48]. As James was little in London, but always on the move from one hunting seat

[48] Eph. p. 964: 'Ad regem prout soleo *καθ' ἑκάστην κυριακήν*.

to another, Casaubon was dragged out to Theobald's, Royston, Greenwich, Hampton Court, Holdenby, Newmarket, wherever the court might be[49]. Sometimes, not always, he had the convenience of a court carriage. When the distance obliged him to spend the night, he had to provide his own lodging, as the accommodation at these royal residences was but scanty[50]. In writing to James from Paris, in April, Casaubon had naively proposed, as the one object of his visit to England, that he 'might have a good talk with your majesty[51].' He was now taken at his word; and before the end of the year he had had enough of it. Not that he grew tired of the king. He tells de Thou[52] 'that he found him greater than report, and thought him more so every time he saw him.' In February 1613, he writes[53], 'I enjoy the favour of this excellent monarch, who is really more

[49] Ep. 794: 'Illa ipsa die juberet me rex se Londino proficiscentem sequi.'

[50] Voltaire says of the court of France in 1562, Essai sur les mœurs, 3. 233: 'On couchait trois ou quatre dans le même lit, et on alloit à la cour habiter une chambre où il n'y avait que des coffres pour meubles.'

[51] Ep. 664: 'Majestatis tuæ sensus omnes propius cognoscere, et qui mihi in mentem venibant posse eidem communicare.'

[52] Ep. 692: 'Majorem fama sua inveni, et quotidie magis magisque invenio.'

[53] Ep. 864. Casaubon's language about James to others is honourable to the king, and, I think, with some exceptions (see Epp. ep. 249) not overcharged. His language to James himself is adulatory. But it was the style of the court, and meant nothing, or meant only 'wonderful for a king.' Bacon, nay Selden, was equally lavish of the dialect of flattery, the latter to an extent which raised in Dr. Aikin, Lives of Selden, etc. p. 37, 'a painful sense of the degradation incurred by literature when brought in collision with power, unless supported by a proper sense of its own dignity.' The words of Selden to which Dr. Aikin refers are in Selden, Opp. 3. 1400. See note B in Appendix.

instructed than most people give him credit for. He is a lover of learning to a degree beyond belief; his judgment of books, old and new, is such as would become a professed scholar, rather than a mighty prince.' But it was the ruin of his leisure. Casaubon was flattered by the attention, while he chafed under the outlay of time it occasioned. Time spent in conversation, however agreeable, was to him time lost. He begs Montagu[54], Lake, the king himself, to permit him to bury himself in his study, and to present any observations he may have to make by their mediation. 'It is not fitting for one so lowly as I am to approach so great a monarch, save through a third person *.'

One consequence to Casaubon of this establishment in the circle that stood round the royal chair was, that his thoughts were more and more turned from their own direction. Learning ceased to occupy his mind, and he was now engrossed by the ecclesiastical topic, which was the paramount object of interest in this society. He occasionally thinks, with a sigh of regret, of his unfinished Polybius. But he never touches it. The king, who had started on his career with the axiom imbibed from Buchanan, 'that a king ought to be the most learned clerk in his dominion,' now never read anything but controversial divinity, and chiefly the pamphlets of the day. 'Nothing escapes him,' Casaubon writes to Fronto[55]. To cardinal Du Perron he writes[56], 'Neither his private affairs nor public business interest his majesty so deeply as do affairs of religion, and his desire of bringing about concord

[54] Ep. 696. * See note D in Appendix.

[55] Cas. ep. ad Front. p. 37: 'Nihil illum fugit eorum quæ a vestris hominibus scriptitantur'

[56] Cas. resp. ad card. Perr. p. 4.

among the divided members of the church.' This temper of the english court was well understood on the continent. Fra Paolo regrets[57] 'that the king of England was become a doctor of divinity.' 'I come from England,' Grotius writes in 1613[58], 'where there is little commerce of letters; theologians are there the reigning authorities. Casaubon is the only exception; and he could have found no place in England as a man of learning; he was compelled to assume the theologian.' Heinsius sent Casaubon a copy of his edition of the 'Poetics.' Casaubon took the book with him to court to read himself[59], but he does not speak of it to the king, and only tells him that Heinsius has sided against the arminians.

Casaubon at first lamented this growing ecclesiastical passion, which was swamping better tastes both in court and church. In November, 1611, he writes[60] to Charles Labbé: 'If you wish to know what I am doing here, I can only report that all my old studies have entirely ceased. The king, great and learned as he is, is now so entirely taken up with one sort of book, that he keeps his own mind and the minds of all about him occupied exclusively on the one topic. Hardly a day passes on which some new pamphlet is not brought him, mostly written by jesuits, on the martyrdom of *Saint* Garnett, the sufferings of the english catholics, or matters of that description. All these things I have to read and give my opinion upon.' In March, 1613, things had

[57] Paolo Sarpi, Lettere, 88.

[58] Grotii Epp. p. 751: 'Ne huic quidem locus fuisset in Anglia ut literatori, theologum induere debuerit.'

[59] Ep. 754. [60] Ep. 753.

not altered. He writes to a friend[61]: 'As long as I shall stay in England, I see that I must make up my mind to forego classical letters. Our excellent and most religious king is so fond of theology, that he cares very little to attend to any literary subject.' Grotius recollected in 1628[62], that Casaubon had told him 'that he had now laid aside all his interest in the military affairs of ancient Rome. Henri IV, greatest of monarchs and of captains, had put him upon them. But, after his removal to Britain, he had transferred his studies and his interests to other matters, viz. religion and religious concord, for which alone the king of England cared.'

The call of the greatest scholar of the age to England, and his endowment out of the revenue of the english church, was a creditable act of government in a country and a church whose history is not illumined by any public spirited patronage of science or learning. The incident figures in the histories of the church in this capacity. It is disappointing, when we come to look narrowly into the transaction, to find that this solitary instance of disinterested patronage of learning is no instance at all. Then, greek scholarship, however eminent, was not a commodity for which king, bishops, or parliament of England would have paid £300. The king was delighted to find in Casaubon a new gossip, deferential, without being obsequious, whose memory was an inexhaustible store of book learning. The high church bishops sought for their party the credit of a dis-

[61] Ep. 872.

[62] Grotii Epp. ep. 184. app.: '. . . translatum in Britanniam studia quoque se eo transtulisse, quo vergeret animus regis, cui non tam arma quam pax et religio cordi.'

tinguished convert from puritanism, and they intended to employ his pen in behalf of their cause, struggling in 1610 against unpopularity. The reading public saw in Casaubon the vindicator of the civil power against the spiritual tyranny of the bishop of Rome, of the protestant faith against popery. All these parts Casaubon had to submit to act with as good a grace as might be.

When historians credit James with surrounding himself with learned men, it should be added that it was with learned divines only. There did not exist in this country any distinct class of scholars, or guild of learning, such as had been found in Italy in the 15th century, or as is formed by the german professorium of our day. When Ritterhusius wanted to secure a copyright in England for an edition of the 'Novellæ' he was printing at Altorf, Casaubon assured him that [63] 'the precaution was unnecessary; the English printers care nothing for that sort of book. The only reading which flourishes here is theology; no books but theological books, and those of english authors, are published here. The educated men in this part of the world contemn everything which does not bear upon theology.'

There was, indeed, a set of men in England to whom the title of learned is eminently due, though their reading was directed, not to the classics, but mainly to the antiquities of their own country. Camden, Cotton, Spelman, above all, Selden, and those who formed the society of antiquaries, were not only the best set of their time, but one which we shall

[63] Ep. 766: '. . . typographi Angli ejusmodi libros non curant. sola est, quæ hic floreat, sacra Theologia; soli fere libri theologici, et fere Anglorum, qui hic eduntur.'

hardly match in our later history. Bacon had been among them before he sold himself for official advancement, and Andrewes had imbibed something of their spirit. But this set of men was neglected, or frowned upon, by the court. If James showed in 1610 some interest in Camden's 'Annals,' it was only in respect of the political capital he reckoned to make out of it, or with a view to the vindication of his mother's character. Bacon had appealed to the king in the 'Advancement of Learning,' and had satisfied himself that there was no hope from that quarter, for help for the 'Instauratio Magna[64].' In 1609, Bacon doubts if he can still interest Andrewes in his speculations, as he intimates in sending to the bishop his 'Cogitata et Visa[65].' Instead of encouraging Bacon, the bishops were scheming a college at Chelsea for the production of more controversial divinity. The king gave a patent, and licence of mortmain, and actually nominated seventeen fellows and a provost[66]. A jesuit pamphleteer had taunted Andrewes with having got a bishopric by reading Terence and Plautus. This is an imputation on his character from which Casaubon must defend him[67]; 'In the last thirty years he has rarely had Plautus in his hands; Terence never once. If in his writings any traces of his classical reading are to be found, let the *blame* rest on his retentive memory, and on the giver of that mental endowment.' Aptly enough, though in

[64] Spedding, Life of Bacon, 4. 23. [65] Ibid. p. 141.

[66] Fuller, Ch. Hist. 10. 3, 19.

[67] Cas. ep. ad Front. p. 159: 'Accusat præsulem quod Terentium et Plautum legerit juvenis in academiis; nam ex eo tempore, h. e. ab annis 30, Plautum vix in manus aliquando meminit sumsisse; Terentium ne semel quidem attigit. Siqua igitur veteris lectionis vestigia in scriptis senis venerandi apparent, accuset felicem illius memoriam.'

jest, the earl of Suffolk advises sir J. Harington [68], 'You are not young, you are not handsome, you are not finely, and yet you will come to courte, and think to be well-favoured! why I say again "good knight," that your learning may somewhat prove worthy hereunto; your latin and your greek, and Italian, your Spanish tongues, your wit and discretion, may be well looked unto for a while as strangers at such a place, but these are not thinges men live by now a days.'

How entirely the soul of true learning, viz. the spirit of investigation, was wanting in the circle which surrounded James, and into which Casaubon was now matriculated, is evinced by what happened to Selden in 1618. He published in that year his 'History of Tythes.' It is the work of a legal antiquary, and if not in point of arrangement a model of historical criticism, it follows the true path of critical inquiry. Selden, with Scaliger's example before him, had raised himself to the idea of an historical investigator; inquiring into facts, not drawing up a case. The 'History of Tythes,' written in this spirit, was received with a howl of rage by the learned divines of the court circle. They could not conceive that a book could be written on tithes, which was neither for, nor against, the church. The high commission court was brought down on the unfortunate author, who had committed the crime of carrying historical criticism into the region of ecclesiastical antiquity. This error Selden was compelled to apologise for, and to retract by a court of which Abbot, King, Buckeridge, and Andrewes, were members.

But though the Jacobean divines do not constitute

[68] Nichols' Progr. 2. 414.

an epoch of learning, they represent a stage on the road towards it. Critical inquiry was not only unknown, but was proscribed. Yet a zeal for reading, and patristic research characterised them, which abated the raw ignorance of the preceding century. They were led into the region of learning. Barren as their controversial pamphlets are, yet theology approached the ground of scientific criticism more nearly than amid the bandying of scriptural texts, which had been the controversial form of the century of the reformation. Anglicanism was purging itself of its fanaticism, and leaving that element to the puritans. It is true that all study was theological, and that the theology was contentious, not scientific. But at any rate there was study. A german visitor, young Calixtus, always said[69] that 'his tutors in Germany had not done as much in spurring him on to the study of ecclesiastical history as had the english bishops, and the well stored libraries he had seen among them,' during his visit in 1612. The influence of Andrewes on Cambridge could not but be beneficial. We find him[70] 'making continual search and inquiry to know what hopeful young men were in the university; his chaplain and friends receiving a charge from him to certify what hopeful and towardly young wits they met with from time to time.' The instructions issued by the crown to the vice-chancellor of Oxford[71], 'according to which young students were to be incited to bestow their time in the fathers and councils, schoolmen, histories and controversies, and not to insist too long in compendiums and abbreviations,' are in the same direction. 'You

[69] Henke, Calixtus Leben, 1. 149.

[70] Isaacson, Life and Death of Andrewes, p. xvii.

[71] Heylin, Life of Laud, p. 71.

must not suppose,' Casaubon writes to Saumaise[72], 'that this people is a barbarous people; nothing of the sort; it loves letters and cultivates them, sacred learning especially. Indeed, if I am not mistaken, the soundest part of the whole reformation is to be found here in England, where the study of antiquity flourishes together with zeal for the truth.'

At fifty-one friends are but slowly made. Yet men who have long been before the world in their books, do not approach each other for the first time as strangers. In this circle of divines Isaac Casaubon was soon at home, but there were two with whom he became specially intimate; 'the only two native Englishmen,' he says[73], 'with whom he lived on intimate terms in London.' These were the bishop of Ely and the dean of S. Paul's.

Lancelot Andrewes, just, September 1609, translated to Ely, was a prelate who united a sincere piety with a genial wit, and who, if he had not been a bishop, might have left an eminent name in english literature. For a man who had been long about court, who had the preaching gift, and was in the way of preferment, his reading was considerable, though it has been much overrated. He had, in common with many english divines his contemporaries, an extensive acquaintance with what may be called the 'apparatus theologicus.' He knew enough of the latin and greek ecclesiastical writers to find out whether another man knew them. He knew enough to appreciate Casaubon's knowledge of them. He had been a prime mover in bringing Casaubon to England. He had thus taken on

[72] Ep. 837: 'Hæc gens nihil minus est quam barbara, amat et colit literas, præsertim autem sacras. quod si me conjectura non fallit, totius reformationis pars integerrima est in Anglia.'

[73] Eph. 915: 'Quos solos Anglorum familiares habeo.'

himself the obligation to befriend him. But when he came to make Casaubon's acquaintance, the character of the man suited and attracted the bishop. Profound piety and great reading, common to both, placed them at first in sympathy. Of bishop Andrewes, it is affirmed[74] that 'he daily spent many hours in holy prayers and abundant tears.' Casaubon's diary is one prolonged litany. Andrewes was[75] indefatigable in study from childhood to age. From the hour he rose, his private devotions finished, to the time he was called to dinner, which was not till twelve at noon at soonest, he kept close to his book, and would not be interrupted by any that came to speak with him. He would be so displeased with scholars that attempted to speak with him in a morning, that he would say, 'he doubted they were no true scholars that came to speak with him before noon.' When, after his promotion to a bishopric, his own studies were cut short, he was ready to encourage those of others[76]. He sent Bedwell to Leyden to study arabic, and promised to bear the charges of printing his 'Thesaurus Arabicus.' In tastes thus alike, they had the further bond of community of theological opinions. And the coincidence of opinion had the charm of rencontre. Their opinions had been arrived at by each independently. The two had not been formed in one school, but had found out primitive antiquity, each for himself in a different country, and without communication. It was a source of ever fresh delight and surprise to them to find how independent reading had conducted them to identical results.

[74] Isaacson, Life and Death, etc., p. xiii. [75] Ibid. p. 25.

[76] Cas. epp. 831: 'Hic dignissimus præsul non solum est doctissimus, sed etiam egregie favet literis; itaque Bedwello pecuniam pollicitus est necessariam ad Thesauri Arabici editionem.'

With these conformities of character and opinion, there was sufficient intellectual difference to lend the interest of contrast to their intercourse. As when Ben Jonson encountered Shakespeare, it is the collision of learning with wit. Casaubon might admire the nimble suggestion, the ready memory, the prompt repartee of his new friend. Andrewes must have felt that he was in the presence of one, who knew more than himself, of the things of which he knew most; one, the relation of whose knowledge to his own, was that of the whole to the part. They soon mutually delighted in each other's society. Andrewes carried Casaubon to Ely with him, kept him there as long as he could make him stay, and pressed him to go down again in the following summer. Casaubon writes of him to all his friends; to de Thou that [77] 'he is a man whom if you knew you would take to exceedingly. We spend whole days in talk of letters, sacred especially, and no words can express what true piety, what uprightness of judgment, I find in him.' To Heinsius he says [78], 'I am by way of seeing the bishop daily. He is one of a few whose society enables me to support being separated from de Thou.' I am attracted to the man by his profound learning, and charmed by a graciousness of manner not common in one so highly placed.' Again in 1613 he tells Heinsius [79], 'If you come over here you will receive the warmest welcome from the bishop of Ely; he longs to see you at Ely House.'

With all these endowments of nature and education, Andrewes had not risen above his surroundings. His piety had not softened his heart, his reading had not enlarged his intellect. Nothing in his writings rises above the level of theological polemic, or witty con-

[77] Ep. 741. [78] Ep. 754. [79] Ep. 881.

undrum making. He warns Bellarmine what he may expect if he should be caught in England[80]. He was one of the knot of bishops who planned, and deliberately carried through, the wanton execution of Legatt. He sat on the commission in the Essex case and—there is a lower depth of infamy—gave his voice *for* the divorce.

The dean of S. Paul's had taken in Casaubon, and entertained him as his guest for nearly twelve months. Yet so much in his company, there is little reference to him in Casaubon's remains. The kind attentions and hospitality, both of the dean and of Mrs. Overall, are warmly acknowledged in a letter[81] which is a record of Casaubon's gratitude. A short note from the dean to Casaubon[82] contains an invitation to him to go out of town to visit him, in his country house at Islington. Among the Adversaria of 1610 is a memorandum, that the dean had suggested on Hebr. 10. 5, that σῶμα is a corruption of ὠτία with reduplication of the final *s* of the preceding word; and that he proposed to read 1 Cor. 6. 4 interrogatively. It may be noticed that even in this rough note, for his own eye only intended, Casaubon cannot name Overall without adding 'vir longe doctissimus,' a testimonial, which is of vastly more weight than A. Wood's[83], 'one of the profoundest school divines of our nation,' or than Camden's[84], 'a man learned all round.'

Casaubon writes to Heinsius[85] that there were only three men in England who deserved the name of theologian; the bishop of Ely, the dean of S. Paul's, and the dean of Winchester. But at this date his

[80] Tortura Torti, p. 47.
[81] Ep. 739.
[82] Burney MSS. 364. p. 337.
[83] Athen. 2. 812.
[84] Camden, Annales, p. 849.
[85] Ep. 744.

acquaintance with english churchmen was limited. When he visited Oxford he became acquainted with several, of whom two at least, Abbot (Robert) and Prideaux (John) deserved the compliment equally with the three he names. Prideaux was rising into distinction as tutor, and, 1612, rector, of Exeter. He particularly affected foreigners. In his time, and by his means, the resort of foreigners to Oxford, which the reformation had broken off, seemed to be revived for a short time, and on a small scale [86]. Some of these were young matriculated students; others, older men, who only rented chambers in the house, 'to improve themselves by his company, his instruction, his direction.' His manners were more polished than those of the average academic, and Casaubon was attracted [87] to him at once. As Prideaux was selected by the archbishop to reply for Casaubon to Eudæmon-Joannes, the preparation of the pamphlet led to much correspondence between the two. Prideaux, who was a young and rising man, was very anxious to be received into the favoured circle of court divines, and saw his way to this by the medium of the pamphlet. He was nervously desirous that what he wrote should be satisfactory to the king, and that it should have Casaubon's recommendation in that quarter [88]. He succeeded in pleasing the king and the archbishop by his pamphlet, and was rewarded for it by the Regius professorship of divinity. But this was after Casaubon's death.

Of his principal Cambridge friend, Richard Thomson,

[86] A. Wood, Ath. 3. 269.

[87] Ep. 903: 'Ita me nuper cepisti, cum isthic te primum vidi; multo magis quum te loquentem audivi.'

[88] Ep. 915: 'Non dubito quin ea res optimi regis animum tibi sit conciliatura.'

something has been said before. Thomson was among his earliest acquaintance. Travelling to Italy, as tutor to some nobleman, Thomson had made some stay, as most Englishmen did, at Geneva. It was he who had introduced Henry Wotton to Casaubon, and, more than this, who first mentioned Casaubon to Scaliger. Thomson may thus be said to have been the discoverer[89] of Casaubon, as it was through Scaliger that Casaubon became known to the parisian friends. Thomson was a book and manuscript hunter, and had helped Casaubon to some things of this kind, which he would fain have had regarded as presents, but on this point Casaubon was scrupulous. Nor was it only gratitude which bound Casaubon to Thomson. Thomson's amiable qualities attached Casaubon; he was a favourite with Madame Casaubon, and he is the only correspondent to whom the children send their remembrances. In his university (he was M.A. of Clare) he was well considered as a scholar, and was on the company of translators of king James' bible, for Hebrew. But he had also coquetted with many classics, greek and latin, helping any of his friends in their editions. He had given suggestions to Casaubon for Suetonius, for Polybius, for the Augustan historians, and to Farnaby for Martial. He had talked of editing himself the Epistles to Atticus, Zonaras' Lexicon, but never did anything. He was drawn, like his friend, into the theological vortex, and his literary schemes ended in a polemical tract.

After his arrival in England, Casaubon occasionally

[89] In Bacon's comm. solutus, Spedd. 4. 64, is a paper headed 'Q. of learned men beyond the seas to be made, and hearkening who they be that may be so inclined.' Mr. Spedding, 4. 145, explains 'made' persuaded to take an interest in the 'Great instauration.' It appears to me that 'made' is to be referred to Q.='enquiry to be made.'

saw Thomson, and always with pleasure. Richard Thomson and the bishop of Ely are two men in whose society time is not lost[90]. When he visited Cambridge it is Thomson to whom Casaubon belongs, who, as matter of right, shows him over the university. And when, afterwards in 1611, Thomson got into trouble, it is to Casaubon he turns to befriend him with the bishops[91].

Outside the circle of court divines, or 'the theologians,' Casaubon formed hardly any acquaintance during his english residence. His relations with the 'antiquaries,' as we may call the non-theological men of letters, were merely distant.

Bacon's name is the symbol of so much, that we may be naturally desirous to find any traces of his intercourse with Casaubon. In 1609, Casaubon had read Bacon's 'De Sapientia Veterum,' and, struck by the originality of the piece, had spoken of it in a letter to sir George Carew. Sir George had told Bacon of Casaubon's good opinion. Bacon, who was at that time desirous[92] of making the acquaintance of 'learned men beyond the seas,' wrote the following letter to Casaubon:—

'Understanding from your letter to the lord Carew that you approve my writings, I not only took it as a matter for congratulation, but thought I would write to tell you how much pleasure your favourable opinion had given me. My earnest desire is, as you rightly

[90] Eph. p. 876: 'A prandio nihil prorsus; neque tamen pœnitet, nam totum tempus fui cum magno præsule D. Episcopo et amicissimo Tomsone.'

[91] See below, p. 394.

[92] Spedding, Life, 4. 146. Birch appears to me to have rightly fixed the date of Casaubon's letter (to which Bacon alludes) to somewhere between October, 1609, and March, 1610.

divine, to draw the sciences out of their hiding-places into the light. To write at one's ease that which others are to read at their ease is of little consequence; the contemplations I have in view are those which may bring about the better ordering of man's life and business with all its turmoil. How great an enterprise this is, and with what small helps I have attempted it, you will perhaps learn hereafter. Meanwhile you would do me in return a very great pleasure if you would communicate to me your own plans and occupations. For I ever think that this intercommunion of pursuits conduces more to friendship than political connections or mutual services. I think no man could ever more truly say of himself than I can, "multum incola fuit anima mea." Indeed, I seem to have my conversation among the ancients rather than among these with whom I live. If in anything my friendship can be of use or grace to you or your's, assure yourself of my good and diligent service; and so biddeth you farewell, Your friend, etc.'

This letter is but a draft, and was never sent. It may be conjectured that Casaubon's coming to England about that time removed him from the category to which Bacon's memorandum referred. While Bacon's mind was occupied with the speculations of the 'Sapientia Veterum,' he might tell Casaubon that 'I seem to have my conversation among the ancients more than among those with whom I live.' This was a passing phase. If he inquired about Casaubon, Bacon would learn that he was too much engrossed with the episcopal pamphlet warfare to be available for the purposes of the 'De Augmentis Scientiarum.' We know[93] what Bacon thought of church controversy. Had Bacon

[93] Spedding, Life, 4. 137.

frequented the bishop of Ely, he might then have chanced on Casaubon. But we learn from his own letter[95] that he now saw little or nothing of the bishop, and that from this very cause, that 'your lordship hath been so busy in the church and the palace, disputing between kings and popes;' a sentence which hardly disguises Bacon's contempt for the bishop's occupation.

With William Camden, the 'Pausanias of Britain,' as A. Wood calls him, Casaubon would naturally be more in sympathy. In the early Genevan days, when an exile from learned society, Casaubon had ventured, among other feelers, a letter to Camden, desiring his acquaintance on the ground of his admiration of the 'Britannia.' In his remote corner, difficult as books were to get, this small volume, published in London, and relating to distant England, had not escaped Casaubon's watchful eye. The same letter intimated to Camden respectfully, but unhesitatingly, that the word 'Britain' was not derived from 'Brith and *τάνια*[96].' The head master of Westminster was not accustomed to have his greek questioned. He did not condescend to alter his derivation in the edition of 1607, and the acquaintance made slow progress. But when Casaubon was settled in Paris, Camden now become Clarencieux, and in regular correspondence with the British embassy and with de Thou, heard much of Casaubon. The books Casaubon was known

[95] Spedding, Life, 4. 141.

[96] *ταυία*=a narrow strip of land, like a loose riband or streamer. See Wesseling on Diodorus, 1. 36. Dio Chrysost. p. 83. But Camden writes *ταvία*, or, in all editions after the first, tania, and affirms that the glossarists explain it as 'regio.' Casaubon remarks that the word is not greek. Perhaps Camden got his word from Stephanus, who says, Thes. p. 1308: 'At *ταvία*, pro plaga, regio, tractus terrarum nescio unde afferatur.'

to be writing, formed part of the public news with which William Becher entertained Camden. And so, through the embassy, Camden sent Casaubon a copy of the new edition of his 'Britannia,' 1607. Casaubon returned the compliment by sending Camden a copy of his 'Polybius;' though he could hardly hope much appreciation of his labour from one who identified -tannia with *τάνια*. When Casaubon came to England, the acquaintance went no further. Camden lived now at Chiselhurst. A journey thither was the business of half a day. For some reason or other, perhaps because of his close connection with Wotton and Savile, Camden showed no desire to cultivate Casaubon.

We do not find that sir Robert Cotton appreciated Casaubon much better than Camden did. We hear[97] of his spending one day with sir Robert, or probably in his library. He could have access to it, as he offers to search it for the purposes of Charles Labbé[98]. And Cotton had pointed out to Casaubon that 'nos' was the reading of the passage in Rishanger, where Parsons chose to print[99] 'vos.'

It must not be forgotten, however, that one cause of his not extending his acquaintance more widely must have been, that his time was now closely occupied with the work imposed upon him.

We have seen that Casaubon contemplated at first only a short visit to this country. When he became Overall's guest, he did not think that he should remain at the deanery for a whole year. His stay in England

[97] Eph. 1036. [98] Ep. 753.

[99] Exercc. in Bar. ded. p. 12, and proleg., where he quotes Matthew Paris, 'Vita Abbatum,' from a MS. which sir R. Cotton had shown him 'in sua *libraria*.' The letter in which he asks for these references to be given him on paper is in Birch's papers, Sloane MSS. 4164. p. 220.

was prolonged[1] from interval to interval, but was still considered by himself as provisional. He experienced a sense of relief in getting away from Paris[2]. 'My country, dear as it is to me on many accounts, is become, by the murder of my prince, an object of loathing and aversion.' He cannot bear to see those whose doctrine instigated and authorised the deed lording it in the scene of their crime. Then the reception he met here, and the succession of occupations forced on him by the king, detained him, but always subject to the pleasure of the french government. 'The most christian king, whose subject and servant I am,' is his style. There was difficulty in getting leave for Madame Casaubon to come over; greater still in getting his books. He was more than a year in England without his family and without any of his books. Madame Casaubon joined him in October 1611. The queen regent flatly refused permission for his library to be sent him[3]. More than once he learns that he is to be immediately recalled. James had to request as a personal favour to himself the loan of Casaubon. His leave of absence is indefinitely prolonged; but he is not discharged. As for his books and papers, he may have some of them, just what he requires for the thing he is now writing[4]. These are enough for his shorter pamphlets; but when he comes to write against Baronius he wants them all. Madame Casaubon returns to Paris to plead the cause. She waits upon the queen: 'You have done well to come back,' was the answer of Marie de Medicis. 'I

[1] Ep. 705: 'Cum paucos menses destinassem evenit longe aliter.'

[2] Epp. 698, 699.

[3] Eph. p. 843: 'Regina negat se permissuram ut deferatur huc bibliotheca.' June, 1611.

[4] Ep. 749: 'Nondum plenam missionem a regina impetravi.'

have written to your husband to return at once, and it is my pleasure that you do not go back to England to him.' There had to be more negotiations, a contest between the two courts for the possession of Casaubon[5]. Casaubon is to stay a little longer; Madame Casaubon may return. The books, some of them, may go for present use; not all, a third part, and not the most useful books; [6] 'we must retain some lien upon our subject.' His french pension even is continued to him, but from term to term. He does not consider himself permanently settled; when he has done with Baronius there is nothing that need keep him in England another hour[7].

At first he had been a guest or a lodger of the dean of S. Paul's; then of Madame Killigrew. At Michaelmas 1611, he took a house in S. Mary Axe. The house was found for him by Abraham Aurelius (Auriol), minister of the french congregation, who himself lived in Bishopsgate ward[8]. S. Mary Axe ran from Leadenhall to Camomile Street, and is described by Stowe as[9] 'a street graced with good buildings, and much inhabited by eminent merchants.' At an earlier period even country gentlemen had dwelt in S. Mary Axe, as sir Edward Wotton had his town house there. But the Wottons had migrated further west before

[5] Ep. 732: 'Uxorem pene detinuit regina, vetuit redire in Angliam; sed, mox, consilium de me revocando aut omissum est, aut intermissum.'

[6] Ep. 733: 'Ne, semel nactus meam bibliothecam, patriæ obliviscar.'

[7] Ep. 810: 'Hunc librum si dedicavero . . . nihil est quod me in hoc regno velhoram unam teneat.'

[8] Camden Society, vol. 82. p. 70.

[9] Stowe, Survey of London, 1. 420.

Casaubon came to settle in the street. In September 1613, he removed to one more commodious, and further west, in the 'new rents,' Drury Lane. He is only here provisionally; and though the discomforts of London are great, the compensations are not a few. Indeed, the two years, 1611, 1612, were, on the whole, peaceful, and not unhappy, years. He enters in his diary, on his fifty-third birthday, an expression of thankfulness, that he has passed the year[10] without serious disaster, or cause of complaint; and this is the only entry of the kind in the diary. The means of subsistence were provided for him not altogether insufficiently; he was honoured and made much of at court; above all, he was happy in the free exercise of the rights of conscience. The anglican ritual exactly met his aspirations after the decent simplicity of primitive worship. Almost his first introduction to the ceremonial of our church was on the notable occasion of the consecration of the scottish bishops, October 21, 1610. He was highly pleased with the order of that service; with the ordinary celebration of the communion in S. Paul's; with the washing of the feet on Maundy Thursday; though his presbyterian sentiment was at first inclined to find a little too much pomp and pride mingling in the solemn scene of an episcopal ordination[11]. But on the whole

[10] Eph. 918: 'Sine graviore noxa aut querella.'

[11] The same impression had been made upon Sully, when he came over in 1603. Barlow, Hampton Court conference, p. 38: 'My lord of London put his majesty in mind of the speeches which the french embassador Mo^sr. Rogne gave out . . . upon the view of our solemne service and ceremonies, that "If the reformed churches in Fraunce had kept the same orders among them which we have, he was assured that there would have bene many thousands of protestants more there, than now there are."'

he preferred the anglican ceremonies to the bare and naked usages of his own communion. His infant son James was baptized, and Meric confirmed [12], according to the anglican ritual, not, as all their brothers and sisters had been, by the calvinistic ministers. He approves the lent fast, and the use of the cross in baptism. On the points on which the high and the low party within the church differ, at least on the real presence and on confession, he inclines rather to the sacerdotal side. But he did not forsake the french congregation, of which he continued to be a member. He attended the preaching from time to time, though not seldom hearing doctrine from which he differed, and philology which he knew to be rotten [13]; and was on terms of friendly intimacy with the ministers Cappel and Auriol, who were assiduous in attending him in his dying moments.

In one main feature his London life exactly resembled the routine of Paris. It was a life of incessant toil, and a constant struggle to protect his time against the encroachments of visits and visitors. English men of letters at this time were few, and those few did not draw to Casaubon. Casaubon had been accustomed in Paris to the gossips crowding to him [14]. It was not to be expected that english callers would flock in shoals in London, to the house of a man who could not speak their language, and who was ignorant of what was going on. Nor was London, like Paris, the resort of the learned foreigner, to whom it offered no attraction either in books or

[12] Eph. pp. 950. 1054. 823. 817. 818.

[13] Eph. p. 854: 'Pastorem Marium audivi . . . qui ab interpretatione veterum et doctrina longe abiit, nec minus a significatione verborum *συνεργεῖν* et *τελεωθῆναι*.'

[14] Eph. p. 694.

men. Here, too, Casaubon was free, both from the pushing intrusion of the catholic proselytizer, and from the sans cérémonie of the huguenot residents, made gregarious by common misery. He was further relieved from his duties at the library.

All this was favourable to work. But the claims on his time, official and social, from which he was relieved, were replaced by others no less troublesome. In Paris he was the king's servant, but he did not belong to the court. In London, though of one so humble it could not be said he was 'of the court,' yet, according to the distinction drawn by lord Clarendon[15], he 'followed' it. He was with the king, as we have seen, every Sunday, sometimes also on week-days, and these were not audiences, but attendances prolonged for hours. With the going and the returning, the attendance never took less than the whole day; when the court was in the country, two or more days. When from May 5 to September 19 he has not seen the king, he thinks this a long interval[16]. James, who was on progress in the southern counties, returned to Whitehall on September 8, but did not stay[17], and on September 19 Casaubon goes out to Theobald's, and is honoured with a long and serious colloquy on various matters[18]. He must also occasionally visit prince Henry; after his death, prince Charles; often the archbishop.

[15] Clarendon, Life, 1. 36: 'Thomas Carew . . . *followed* the court, which the modesty of that time disposed men to do, sometime before they pretended to *be of it*.'

[16] Eph. p. 1014.

[17] Nicholls, Progr. of James 1, 2. 677.

[18] Eph. p. 1014: 'Gravia cum rege de rebus variis habui colloquia.'

The archbishop is out at Croydon. This, we might imagine, would consume the whole day, yet Casaubon will find time after his return to write some part of the genealogy of the Herods. He is invited to dine by the bishops, by the french ambassador, by the ambassador of the czar of Muscovy, by the prince of Baden, by the lord mayor of London. Overall takes him to the banquet of the Merchant Taylors, than which 'he never saw anything more magnificent.' He is often at Madame Killigrew's, sees much of the french pastors, as of his compatriot, Theodore de Mayerne[19], first physician to the king, and of Raphael Thoris. Abraham Scultetus, then residing in London, is much with him, and welcome. Occasional visits from foreigners, though more rare than at Paris, happened now and then; as when the duc de Bouillon, attended by his Sedan ministers, Justell, Cappel, Du Tiloir, came over and had to be attended to. James, in his capacity of theologian, is professionally curious to have explained to him the points of doctrine in which the church of Sedan differs from the church of Paris. Then a new libel of Scioppius appears, and has to be read and elucidated to the king. 'Ite studia! nihil vobiscum mihi! ecce totum diem in aula egi ad 10 horam noctis,' is the entry on May 15. He may say his friends are few, but they are too numerous for continuous work. 'June 7, 1612. Roused out of bed almost before break of day to attend upon some friends, which took a long time.' 'June 18. Went to spend the day with the excellent Bedwell, with my wife;' and so on.

[19] Theodore Turquet was born at Geneva, 1573, and may have known Casaubon at Montpellier, where he took the degree of M.D. 1597.

Of the foreign visitants who came to him in London two deserve separate mention. The young Georg Calixtus was in London, in the summer of 1612, in the course of that four years' travel, by which he sought to counteract in himself the narrowing influence of the lutheran bigotry, by which he was surrounded even in liberal Helmstädt[20]. Calixtus, though only twenty-six, had already conceived the idea of going back to the study of the fathers, in order to retrieve religion from the suspended animation in which it was held in the orthodox formularies. At his age Calixtus must have been without acquisitions, but he possessed vision and aims. The young aspirant, who had raised himself above lutheranism, was naturally anxious to approach the veteran scholar, who was known to have himself emerged from calvinism. Casaubon granted him two interviews, which naturally left a deeper impression on the younger, than on the older, man. Calixtus, whose life labour was an 'Irenicon,' may have found himself strengthened by the sympathy which Casaubon would accord to this direction of his youthful admirer. Casaubon, who was in infrequent correspondence with Caselius (Johann Chessel), Calixtus' teacher, would be able to learn that even among the lutherans there were some not so wholly lost to humanity as Scaliger used to affirm[21]. But Casaubon was now absorbed day and night in the push to finish the 'Exercitationes,' and even so promising a visitor as Calixtus counted only as one more thief of time. On the day on which he saw Calixtus the second

[20] Georg Calixtus, b. 1586, † 1656.

[21] Scaligerana 2ª. p. 151: 'Martinistes, il n'y a point de gens si ignorans et barbares qu'eux en Alemagne.'

time, Casaubon has only entered in the diary 'sacra synaxis, amici, studia[22].' Beyond the brief remark that he had found him [23]'learned and of no common taste in letters,' there is no note of their intercourse. With this recommendation he sent off Calixtus to de Thou in Paris.

With his other visitor, a name of greater renown than Calixtus, Casaubon, though at high pressure on Baronius, spent, reluctant yet willing, many hours, even days. Grotius[24] was in London in March and April, 1613. He was already in correspondence, and in ecclesiastical sympathy, established through correspondence, with Casaubon. Their point of view was sufficiently like for them to be classed by the historians[25] together among the waverers. Their aim, the reunion of Christendom, *was* the same. They sought it by different roads; Grotius, by the statesman's road of a political comprehension; Casaubon, by the theologian's, a merging of minor differences in a common christianity, on the basis of the primitive centuries. Casaubon was introduced to Grotius at the young prince of Baden's lodging. On this occasion they had a long[26] conversation and met afterwards as often as they could. Casaubon took him to dine[27] at the dean's, the bishop of Ely's, and the french embassy. On April 30, Grotius and the dean were entertained at supper by Casaubon. Grotius says[28] that 'they saw each other daily.' Common sentiments brought them together, but Casaubon

[22] Eph. p. 936.
[23] Ep. 818: 'Doctum et judicii in literis non vulgaris.'
[24] Grotius, b. 1583, † 1645.
[25] E. g. by Hallam, 2. 312.
[26] Eph. p. 975: 'Detentus diu.'
[27] Ep. 886.
[28] Grotii Ep. ep. 184. app.: 'Cum quotidie simul essemus.'

soon felt the personal fascination of Grotius' talk. He cannot express[29] the happiness he enjoys in this intercourse. 'I knew him before to be a wonderful man; but the superiority of that divine genius no one can properly appreciate, without seeing his countenance, and hearing his conversation. Integrity is stamped on his face; in his talk is exhibited the union of exquisite learning and genuine piety. Nor is it I only who am so taken with our visitor, all the learned and good who have been introduced to him have fallen under the spell, and the king more than any one.' Upon Grotius' mind the memory of this intercourse, remained still fresh after five-and-twenty years. In 1639 he writes[30] to Gronovius (J. F.), 'Of the pieces of good fortune which have befallen me in the course of my life, I reckon it among the chief that I had the regard and affection of that great man, whose piety, honesty, and candour, were not less remarkable than his vast all-embracing erudition. I can look back, without sadness, to those times, gloomy as they were, and those trying occasions, in which I guided myself by his counsel, and those of the party which he approved.'

He contrived to make all these calls upon his time compatible with unremitting industry at his desk. The whole space of time lived in England was three years and eight months, a period of broken health and ebbing strength. In this time he wrote: 1. Epistola ad Frontonem, 171 pp. 4to. 2. Responsio ad epistolam Card. Perronii, 81 pp. 4to. 3. Exercitationes in Baronium, 830 pp. fol. 4. To these must be added the letters, both of business and friendship, of which some 280, written in England, have been recovered and published.

[29] Ep. 881. [30] Grotii Epp. ep. 1168.

These letters would form a thick 8vo volume, reckoning the average length of a letter at two pages. But we know, from the diary, that the published letters are but a part of what he threw off, all from his own pen. There is of course some repetition of the sense, thoughts, and words to different correspondents. On the other hand, many are elaborate compositions, some of considerable length, and nearly all in latin. Letter writing was a material part of every day's work; when a foreign courier was starting, the whole day was often thus occupied. The letters, even if not on affairs of consequence, are always worded with care and thought, and the latin, though without the racy flavour of Scaliger's latin style, is by no means commonplace. 5. The diary continued to be regularly kept, and the english portion of this occupies 295 pages 8vo of print.

Over and above what he writes himself, he has to read over, and advise upon, what others write. When he arrived in England, October 1610, Andrewes had nearly completed his 'Responsio' to card. Bellarmine's 'Apologia.' Casaubon had the task of reading this over, and making corrections, which corrections the author adopted[31]. Then he had to begin the 'Epistola ad Frontonem.' The writing, correcting, and printing this took up the greater part of 1611. When this task was disposed of, he hopes to be able to get his time for his own readings. He has immediately to begin another, the 'Epistola ad Card. Perronium.' He composes this, or rather writes it over, in a few days, for the matter is supplied by the king[32], and Casaubon has only to find

[31] Eph. p. 792: 'Meas notulas non neglexit, imo pluris fecit, quam merebantur.'

[32] Ep. 839: 'Le roy s'est servi de moi pour secrétaire, mais la pièce est de sa majesté . . . il a exactement medité cette sienne réponse.'

the latin. But the king and the coterie of bishops had to revise and retouch. The court was at Royston, and it was the hunting season. It took time to get the piece corrected, and written over, so that it was not sent to the cardinal till Dec. 29, 1611. We may easily understand that it took more trouble and time to be secretary to the epistle, than to have composed it. It was sent to the cardinal in MS, but he printed it, with his own, to which it was the answer, in Paris. Casaubon was ordered by the king to print an authorised edition in London, and to write a preface, which was to be at the same time an answer to another libel of one Pelletier a jesuit. The preface was to be his own, and yet he was to be told what he was to say in it. Before the book was off his hands came a pamphlet of Vorstius, which so absorbed James that for days he could talk of nothing else[33], and Casaubon must be there to be talked to about it. James must reply to Vorstius. But Casaubon is not to be used against the arminian heretics. He is hardly sound himself there[34], and besides he is to be kept for the catholic controversy. And he is no longer to be frittered away in this skirmishing business. He is to attack the Annals of Baronius[35]. This was a compromise; Casaubon would be contending for the cause, while at the same time he would be treating matter which had more interest for him than the pamphlets on which the last eighteen months had been spent.

[33] Ep. 799: 'Serenissimum regem ita occupatam animi mentem habuisse in recente quodam libro Vorstii, ut plures dies alia de re fere nulla mecum ageret.'

[34] Eph. p. 896: 'Laudo regis zelum pro religione. scimus viros graves, et apprime doctos de Bertio non ita sentire, neque de Arminio.'

[35] Ep. 810: 'Ut immunitatem aliarum angariarum mihi pararem, et maximo tamen regi satisfacerem.'

It is impossible not to regret that Casaubon, who could have done work which no one else could, should have been kept to writing pamphlets, which scores of others could have written quite as well. But it must not be supposed that he shared this regret himself, or that he was writing as a hired advocate for a cause in which he was lukewarm. It is to him, not the cause of the king and bishops in which he is fighting, it is the cause of the church of God, the cause of civil society against the common enemy, the bishop of Rome, and his emissaries. Coming from France, he knew, better than the anglican bishops, what that ultramontane yoke meant, against which the english church was struggling. He tells Schott[36] that it was horror at the assassination of his prince that had driven him to the meditation of this subject of the roman claims. In writing his 'Epistola ad Frontonem' in defence of James, he was thinking of Henri IV. The act of Ravaillac was well understood to be the legitimate, however remote, result of the theories of the ultramontane school. He writes to Hoeschel[37], 'If you want to know the cause of the king's death, read the "Directorium Inquisitionis." The murder of my great Mæcenas has so enraged me against the mystery of iniquity, that I think it now a part of my religion to make public profession of belief (in the royal supremacy.')

The anti-papal controversy of James' reign is as obsolete for our generation as any other theological squabble, and the books, in which it is consigned, are equally forgotten; Casaubon's among the rest. But those who are

[36] Ep. 777: 'Ipse ἐκὼν ἀέκοντί γε θυμῷ ad tractationem ejusmodi argumenti animum appuli. quis coegit? inquies. dicam tibi quod res est. illa atra et nefasta dies,' etc.

[37] Ep. 827.

acquainted with the situation of affairs at that period, are aware that this was no brawl of rival divines. The catholic historian[38], following the catholic reporter de la Boderie, draws a ludicrous picture of James, withdrawing from affairs of state and the pleasures of the chase, shutting himself up with his doctors, and concocting an argument to prove the pope to be anti-christ. Nothing that James did was done becomingly. His pedantic vanity laid him open to the sarcasms of the french ambassador. At a later period he forfeited the confidence of his subjects by a catholic policy; by the spanish negotiation, the french match, and the inadequate support of his son-in-law and the protestants of Germany. But in 1611 he was heartily contending against the still advancing tide of the catholic reaction. The form in which this was threatening Europe was indeed that of military force, but it was also an invasion of opinion. The jesuits did not draw the sword in Germany until they had gained a footing in the minds of men. The books and pamphlets they were now disseminating were what made the thirty years' war possible. When the enemy was successfully availing himself of the power of the press, it was wise and necessary that he should be met on the same ground. Nor was James fighting for his own skin, nor even, as he phrased it, for the rights of princes. The hopes of the ultramontane party at this moment embraced no less than the reconquest of christendom to the holy see; the extermination of heresy by fire and sword, as Scioppius had boldly proclaimed in his Ecclesiasticus (1611). It was no mere paper warfare. The powder-plot,

[38] Lingard, Hist. of Engl. 7. 78; cf. Churchill, Gotham, 6. 2: 'And pamphlets wrote when he should save the state.'

which we try to forget, or laugh at, was a recent fact; the murder of Henri IV. more recent still. The S. Bartholomew, the Armada, and the cruelties of Alva in Flanders, were not incidents of a legendary fore-time, but the exploits in which a menacing and aggressive party gloried, and which they hoped to repeat or to outdo.

Casaubon's share in the interchange of pamphlets between England and Rome was not large, though it was more than could be well spared out of a life which closed at fifty-six.

It might have been expected that the powder-plot, by its atrocity, would have originated a reaction against the party by which it was conceived. This was the case in our own country. But not so on the continent. The ultramontane pamphleteers had been able to excite considerable sympathy for the conspirators, and especially for Garnett. He was represented by them as a martyr to the inviolability of the secret of confession. These representations were making so deep an impression on the public, that, when they reached England, authenticated in an elaborate statement by cardinal Bellarmine, it was necessary to oppose some official denial[39]. This was done by the king himself in his own name. James published a 'Monitory epistle to all christian monarchs, free princes, and states,' and prefixed it to a new edition (1609) of his former pamphlet, 'Triplici nodo triplex cuneus.' In this monitory epistle he asserted that Garnett had acknowledged his being cognisant of the plot, otherwise than in confession. At the same time a more

[39] Bellarmine's book is 'Responsio Matthæi Torti . . . ad librum inscriptum, Triplici nodo triplex cuneus.' Col. Agripp. 1608.

elaborate answer was prepared by Andrewes, then bishop of Chichester, in which this thesis was maintained at greater length, and authenticated by citation of Garnett's written confessions. This answer was published, in 1609, under the title of 'Tortura Torti,' and has a historical value, because two of the papers cited as written by Garnett are no longer extant among the rest of the original papers relating to the plot. But so strongly was the current of feeling running in favour of the ultramontane party, and so superior were the means of influencing opinion possessed by the jesuits to those which the protestants could employ, that neither the king's affirmation, nor the bishop's vouchers could stem the tide. The belief in Saint Garnett, the martyr of the secret of confession, grew amain, and soon blossomed into a miracle. The myth of Garnett's straw germinating in the fancy of a silly enthusiast, grew in a short space into such proportions that it became the theme of a diplomatic correspondence. Received with entire faith in catholic countries, the legend excited so much interest in Spain, that the english ambassador was directed to make a representation to the spanish authorities on the subject[40]. It was thought that Casaubon's name might help to abate the delusion, which was gaining for the catholic party dangerous sympathies. English testimony was of light weight in catholic countries; it was thought that the attestation of an independent foreigner, whose character for veracity was unimpeachable, might be

[40] Winwood's Mem. 2. 336. Cornwallis to Salisbury, August 29, 1607. The growth of the fable of 'Garnett's straw' is traced in detail by Jardine, Gunpowder Plot, pp. 266 seq. In this instance, as in that of La Salette, we have in our hands the means of following, step by step, the genesis of a catholic legend.

listened to. This is the origin of Casaubon's 'Epistola ad Frontonem,' 1612, of which M. Jardine says that 'though new to this kind of writing, Casaubon acquitted himself well in it.' His statement wants the keen edge and point of Andrewes' dialectic, but it is also free from the bishop's cavil and passion for verbal victory. Having to deal with opponents whose case was a tissue of unscrupulous misrepresentation, he meets their perversity not with excited passion, but with a grave statement of the simple facts. It is characteristic that he is more angry when he has to correct Baronius' chronological errors, or mistranslations of greek, than over the most provoking distortion of fact in the jesuit account of the powder conspiracy. He earned the praise of moderation, but beyond this he neither obtained credit for his clients, nor reputation for himself, by going into the quarrel. He became a mark for the vulgar personalities which are the ordinary missiles in party warfare. Hitherto he had lived for science, in a region apart, where he reigned without rivalry or contradiction. He had now descended into the arena where, muscle for muscle, the arm of a butcher might be more powerful than his.

There was, of course, an 'answer' forthcoming to the 'Epistola ad Frontonem.' It was from a jesuit pen, and one only second in its clever smartness to that of Scioppius[41]. The 'Responsio' of Andreas Eudæmon-Joannes, stripped of its flippant rhetoric, reduces itself to a reassertion of what Bellarmine had before affirmed, viz. that Garnett had been executed for not divulging

[41] Eudæmon-Joannes' book is 'Responsio ad epistolam Isaaci Casauboni.' The only edition I have seen is Colon. Agripp. 1612, but it may be a reprint. Abbot's book is 'Antilogia adversus apologiam Andreæ Eudæmon-Joannis.' Londini, 1613, 4°.

the secret of confession. But it was quite successful. Reassertion was argument enough for the catholic public. As Casaubon had failed to reach them, Abbot, the regius professor of divinity, was put on the controversy, and restated the case of the crown in greater detail, and with more elaborate proof. In vain. Abbot had no greater success than Andrewes or Casaubon. Catholic literature had become a system of falsehood and imposture. Catholic histories continued, and continue still, to repeat that Garnett had suffered, not for treason, but for religion.

Upon this vain effort to stem the reactionary flood, our scholar had flung away precious months. It may have been some perception of this waste of power which determined the king's resolution that Casaubon should do no more pamphlet work. He is to have no more tasks set him. His whole time shall be devoted to the work on church history.

We have seen how, in the earliest days, Casaubon had desired to devote himself to sacred studies. Both his literary ambition, and his love of learning, concurred in taking this colour from the deep religious impressions of his youth. We have seen how he became a classical student and editor in spite of himself. Strabo, Suetonius, Athenæus, Polybius, and the rest, were successively taken up as interimistic jobs, mere exercises to keep his hand in, till he could get freed from the entanglements of life, into the pure empyrean of that happy leisure which formed his ideal, when he would concentrate his matured powers upon sacred criticism. This longed-for [42]'otium' we have

[42] Ep. 1023: 'Omnino otia quærimus, si ita modo visum fuerit D. O. M. Ea enim molimur in literis, quæ animi tranquillitatem desiderant.'

seen him pursue from Geneva to Montpellier, from Montpellier to Paris, from Paris to London, as the vision still fled before him. He is now, April, 1612, in his fifty-fourth year. Though entered on the decline of life, though a friendly physician can read the fatal sign on his brow, he feels no intellectual decay; he may still have years before him enough for the production of some capital work on the antiquities of the church. He is removed above want, if not altogether above anxiety on the score of provision for his family. He is to have no more pamphlet work. He may select his own subject, or rather the subject he has already selected himself is the very one which will best please his patron.

The refutation of Baronius was an employment which was not suggested to him first in England. We have seen that he had long meditated it. In 1605 he only took up Polybius because the ultramontane policy of Henri IV. dared not permit criticism on a book which the see of Rome would not allow to be contradicted[43]. Now that he is free, he recurs to his cherished idea. He will satisfy himself by writing on church history. He will satisfy his party by destroying the credit of the catholic historian.

The early and constant bent of Casaubon's mind had been towards theology. But what was commonly known by this name, doctrinal or systematic, theology, as taught in the schools, lay entirely outside his walk. His reading had led him at once to the sources out of which had been constructed that [44]'web of subtlety and spinosity,' the scholastic theology. He was in possession, as hardly any one else had been, of the key of ecclesiastical antiquity. Having exhausted heathen

[43] 'Quasi a Baronio dissentire sit nefas,' says Rigaltius, Contin. Thuani, 6. 470.

[44] Bacon, Advancement of Learning.

greek, he had gone on into christian greek. At first as greek only, but he had found it full of a new interest. Casaubon never reads as a grammarian in pursuit of words. He is thoroughly realistic. He is, indeed, quite alive to the importance of seizing the exact sense of words, but only for the sake of that which is to be learnt *from* the words. The true approach to christian antiquity is through pagan antiquity. The continuity of history is complete. There is no break. As the christian empire is the pagan empire under a new name, so christian literature is the outcome of the greek classical literature. It is not only built up with the old materials, like the forts which the Turks constructed with the sculptured blocks of the greek temples, it issues from the greek sources of thought. In earlier times, Casaubon had dreamed of treating this period of literature in the spirit of learned research. In 1596, at Geneva, in the plenitude of his acquirement, he had proposed to bring out Athenæus first, then to dispose in like manner of Polybius, after which he would [45]'set an example to our side, that, forsaking these gladiatorial combats so pernicious to the christian world, they should busy themselves rather in illustrating the affairs of the ancient church, and the holy fathers.' Gradually he is drawn into the vortex of controversy. Instead of approaching the history of the church from the classical side, he will approach it from the modern side, and the interests of his own day. The conception which he had formed of christian archæology fades, and mixes itself with the idea of proving

[45] Ep. 1008 : 'Majus opus movebimus et nostro exemplo præibimus hominibus partium nostrarum ut ad res veteris ecclesiæ et sanctissimos patres illustrandos novam operam conferre malint, quam ad andabaticas istas pugnas, toti orbi christiano tam perniciosas.'

how far the church of Rome has strayed from primitive faith and worship. His indignation at the blunders of Baronius is as keen as ever, but he is no longer the scholar indignant at a literary impostor; he is the theological polemic burning to turn these blunders to account in the quarrel of his church with Rome. The centre of his interests, which once was scientific, has become denominational. He who in 1605 had written to Du Perron[46] the proud boast that all his studious hours had been given to the search of truth, not to exhibitions in the arena of paper warfare, was catching the infection from his environment, and on the way to rejoice in fighting. He regularly reads the flying sheets with which the press teems, which kind friends send him sometimes in early copies, before publication, and in which he now finds his own name recur with increasing frequency. He knows what answers are in preparation, and rejoices beforehand in their crushing effect. [47]'As for Bellarmine's book,' he says on one occasion, 'I can leave it alone, as he will soon see it quashed by Barclay fils as dead as a mouse in a trap.'

This being Casaubon's own disposition, we cannot charge it upon the english king and bishops, that he gave the rest of his life to antagonistic writing, and that he threw his learning into the unfortunate shape of a critique on Baronius.

Casaubon had never seen the 'Annales' till the summer of 1598. Geneva was too poor to buy books, and the circulation of Baronius, large as it was, was

[46] Ep. 417: 'Ego vigilias omnes meas amori veritatis in quocunque genere literarum semper impendi, non λογομαχίαις πρὸς ἐπίδειξιν comparatis.'

[47] Ep. ad Front. p. 38: 'Qui suum illum librum . . . a Barclai filio . . . videbit brevi soricina nænia confossiorem redditum.'

wholly catholic. Protestant cities, such as Geneva and Montpellier, had probably not seen a copy. During his stay in de Vic's house at Lyons in 1598, Casaubon first fell in with some of the earlier volumes[48]. At de Vic's suggestion, he sent a letter to Baronius, expressing the sentiments of respect and admiration which had been excited in him by the first reading. Baronius returned, in 1599, a copy of his 8th volume, which was just out, and a civil reply[49], in which he persisted in regarding Casaubon's compliment as a feeler. 'He rejoiced to find him knocking at the gate of the church, for no less could he understand by his commending the work of an orthodox man.' In an Italian, a cardinal, and a holy man, we might naturally view this letter as preluding to a bargain. And Clement VIII. did, afterwards, send Casaubon an intimation that he might have a pension of 1300 crowns if he chose to go to Rome for it. But the suspicion would be unjust to the simple-minded character of Baronius[50]. His narrow education led him to regard the ark of Peter as possessing the same supernatural attractions for all, which it had for himself. Casaubon, an equally candid soul, took the letter in this light, as a proffer of amity. In 1603, he sent the return compliment, in the shape of a copy, or promise to send one the first opportunity, of his 'Historiæ Augustæ Scriptores,'

[48] Ep. 175: 'Contigit mihi dum Lugduni otiosus agerem tuum opus cum Baronii annalibus nondum mihi tum visis, posse contendere.'

[49] Burney MSS. 363. ap. Russell, 1. 32: 'Cum tantopere orthodoxi hominis scripta commendas, plane pultare te ecclesiæ catholicæ januam satis intelligo.'

[50] Dr. Donne, however, Letter to sir H. G. p. 33, writes: 'I have known that Serarius the jesuit was an instrument from cardinal Baronius to draw him (Hugh Broughton) to Rome, to accept a stipend only to serve the christian churches in controversies with the jews.'

with a civil allusion to the places in the notes in which [51] 'my calculations differ from yours.' Baronius replied, not expressing any interest in the Augustan historians, or in Casaubon's criticism on himself, but great concern for his salvation. [52] 'He would be pleased to receive the book, but much more so to hear that the announcement, so often made, of his conversion, was true.' This was a kind of correspondence which it did not pay Casaubon to maintain, and he let it drop. He is now in possession of a copy of the 'Annales,' and his respect for the compiler's learning is rapidly vanishing. He is irritated by the vogue of a book so uncritical and unscholarlike, and proposes to review it, philologically only—not otherwise. Even a philological review of a roman book is impossible in France, in face of the reaction, and Casaubon turns to Polybius since he could do no better. When then, in 1612, he undertakes a review of the 'Annales,' he is but reviving an old project, for which he had already got together materials. Baronius meanwhile had profited by the correspondence of 1603, for in his next edition he adopted every one of the corrections Casaubon had made, but without acknowledgment.

[51] Ep. 338, also in Baronius, Epistolæ, ep. 165.

[52] Burney MSS. 363. ap. Russell, 1. 115.

APPENDIX TO 5.

NOTE A. p. 317.

ALL the biographies of Casaubon endow him with a prebend of Westminster. In doing this they have followed each other without enquiry. The first who mentions the Westminster prebend is Almeloveen, in his Casauboni vita, p. 54, prefixed to his edition of Casauboni epistolæ, Rot. 1709. And Almeloveen relied upon the Ephemerides, in which Casaubon made the following entry, '18 kal. Jan. 1610: Literas episcopi Bathoniensis ad me scriptas accepi, jussu regis scriptas. Deus bone, quam lætas! quibus mihi rex suam singularem benevolentiam patefacit et rebus meis consulit. Duas præbendas assignat, Cantuariæ unam, alteram Westmonasterii, quæ fortasse ad duo millia librarum annui reditus accedunt.' The original letter of Montagu is not preserved, but Casaubon appears to be quoting its words. All that the words warrant is that two prebends were designed for him. He was actually put in possession of the Canterbury stall, but never of the stall at Westminster. And as there is no further mention of Westminster, the intention must have been dropped. Almeloveen is very careful, and, writing in Holland, may readily be excused for having taken this distinct promise for sufficient proof of the fact. The error was corrected by Beloe, Anecdotes of literature, 5. 126, but the correction remained unheeded by all the biographers and church historians since Almeloveen, except the painstaking and accurate Hallam, Hist. of lit. 2. 274.

The dean of Westminster has had the books of the chapter examined for me, and no trace of Casaubon as prebendary is found in them.

NOTE B. p. 420.

Casaubon's account of his intercourse with James I. is so favourable to the king, that it may be thought overcharged by those who have

accustomed themselves to think meanly of that prince. Those whose impressions of character have been chiefly derived from modern histories will find, that, as they become better acquainted with the contemporary memoirs, their estimate of James' abilities will be raised. Casaubon's language *to* James is adulatory. But then such was the style of the english court, and had been to Elisabeth, whose vigorous understanding is not questioned. And even when the king is spoken *of*, there doubtless mingles in the panegyric something of the feeling 'Wonderful for a king!' At any rate, what Casaubon has said of James' parts and acquirements, does not go beyond what was said of him by the two Englishmen most competent to judge, Bacon and Selden. As illustrating Casaubon's high estimate, I quote a passage from Selden, Opp. 3. 1400: 'He (the king) then also most graciously vouchsafed to have speech with me, as the time permitted, of divers parts of learning which either offered themselves out of the consideration of that book, or obviously fell into his so searching a discourse, and this, twice at Theobald's and once at Whitehall; and at every of those times, besides the exceeding sweetness of this nature, which I, being convented before so great a majesty, largely tasted of, I saw, with wonder, the characters of such a fraught of learning, of such a readiness of memory, of such a piercing fancy joined with so absolute a judgment in him, as if his greatness in all these abilities had been no less than in his hereditary titles.'

6.

CASAUBON ON BARONIUS.

THE german reformation is imperfectly described, when it is considered as an appeal to scripture *versus* tradition. It was rather an appeal to history. The discovery had been made that the church, as it existed, was an institution which no longer corresponded to its original, that it was a corrupted, degraded, perverted institution. The appeal to scripture was not itself the moving spring of the reformation, it was the consequence of the sense of decay and degeneracy. As the doctrine of the fall of man was the key of human, so the doctrine of the corruption of the church was the key of ecclesiastical, history. The reformation appealed to the bible, because in this the earliest record of the church, it had a measure of the deviation from type which had been brought about. This corruption was not the mere rust of age which gathers about all merely human institutions. The church was the work of God, and time alone would not have marred and scarred its divine lineaments. Its degradation was the work of a special principle of evil, the mystery of iniquity, the visible embodiment of which was now enthroned on the seven hills.

This thesis was worked out by the 'Magdeburg centuries.' In this protestant delineation, the church

starts in the apostolic age in perfect purity, and is perverted by a process of slow canker, till it has become changed into its opposite, and is now the church not of Christ, but of anti-christ, an instrument not for saving men but for destroying them.

The 'Centuries' had not any great success as a publication. The strictly lutheran public was not numerous, and not rich. It was not a book buying public. But though the thirteen folios of the Centuries, 1559–1574, had no extensive circulation, the historical thesis of which they were the laborious evidence made a deep impression. At Rome, the centre of Europe, where, almost alone, a general view of the current of public opinion was attainable, it was felt that an answer, or antidote, was urgently required. It was provided with an éclat, and upon a scale, which extinguished the centuriators.

S. Philip Neri, the founder of the oratory, cast his eyes upon a young Neapolitan, who was burning with the fervour, epidemic at the period (end of cent. 16), of devotion to the cause of the church. From preaching and hearing confessions, in which the ardent youth was consuming his energy, the father took him to give lessons on church history in the oratory of S. Jerome, at Rome[1]. Beginning as sermons for the edification of the congregation in that church, these deliveries grew into lectures. The lectures arranged themselves in a course, which in thirty years, the lecturer Cesare Baronio († 1607) repeated seven times. As he went on, his studies in preparing his lectures became more and more searching and extended. His director gradually

[1] Baronius has given his own account of this origin of his work in the 'Annales' themselves, under A.D. 57, §. 162. With characteristic modesty, he does not name himself.

led him on, till he found himself insensibly engaged in the production of his vast work, the 'Annales ecclesiastici.' The duration of Baronius' labour was that of his life. He began his popular readings in the oratory æt. 21, he died æt. 69, while engaged on his thirteenth volume. He had waited till he was forty-nine before he began to publish. Perhaps no modern historian, not Gibbon or Grote, ever devoted the whole of a life so entirely to one historical work, or made such a noviciate. The author must have succumbed under the magnitude of an undertaking too vast for a single workman, had he not had support from without. As long as S. Philip Neri lived he kept his disciple to his work, urging, stimulating, commanding, as if he had to exact from him a day's taskwork[2]. The virgin and the saints, especially SS. Peter and Paul, gave him special aid, and the Almighty blessed him with unbroken health to his dying day. Without these helps he could not have supported the continued labour of reading and extracting. Baronius, like Bellarmine, employed no amanuensis. His notes, and extracts even, were all made by his own hand; in this unlike the centuriators, who worked with a subordinate staff of ten paid clerks.

In other respects, the unsuccoured and thankless toil of the centuriators offers, to the cherished and petted lot of Baronius, as great a contrast as the bleak and sandy wastes of Mecklenburg to the sunny shores of the Mediterranean. The archives of the Vatican, and all the resources of the Italian libraries were thrown open to him. The papal press printed for him; the wealth of the church defrayed

[2] Alberici, Vita Baronii, p. 30: 'Durus quodammodo diurni pensi exactor.'

his charges; its highest dignities rewarded his success. Commenced as edifying homilies to an ignorant Roman congregation by a young priest little less ignorant than themselves, the work, as it grew in size, grew into a reputation for learning, little short of supernatural. Its circulation, for its bulk, twelve folios, one for each century, was unprecedented then, and without example since. The libraries of all the monasteries, of the cathedral chapters, of the jesuit colleges and houses, the princes and prelates, throughout the catholic world, took off edition after edition. Vol. I of the 'Annales' saw the light, 'Romæ ex typographia Vaticana 1588,' and Clement enumerates five complete editions before 1610. The volumes were dedicated to none below popes, emperors, and kings, the author condescending to bestow one at last on Henri IV. after he had qualified himself to receive this certificate of orthodoxy. The book was translated, commented, supplemented, continued till, not its faults, but its very completeness, arrested its circulation. In the great Lucca edition 1738–1787, it had grown to thirty-eight vols. folio, and thus purchase was made difficult, and perusal impossible. And it was finally supplanted by the elegant compendium of Fleury, which gave its contents to the world[3] in the universal language of literature.

At the opening of the seventeeth century the relative position of the two religious parties was reversed. The catholic party had recovered, and more than recovered, their ascendancy in the west of Europe. It was a moral ascendancy over opinion of which they

[3] Fleury, Hist. eccles. liv. 75. 1: 'Ici [1198] finissent les annales du cardinal Baronius, que j'ai principalement eu pour guide dans cette histoire.'

now found themselves possessed, an ascendancy founded on superiority of numbers and wealth, but intensified by religious zeal. They were fast making way to intellectual preponderance. At this moment appeared Baronius' 'Annals.' A work of such vast compass, dealing with an important theme, would have been, at any time, a consid rable phenomenon in the literary world. Appearing at the moment it did, it had the significance not of a mere literary publication, but of a political event. The 'Centuries' had shown the history of the church as the growth of the spirit of evil waxing through successive ages, till it was consummated in the reign of anti-christ. Baronius exhibited the visible unity and impeccable purity of the church founded upon Peter, and handed down inviolate, such at this day as it had ever been. The whole case of the romanists, and especially the supremacy of the see of Rome, was here set out, under the form of authentic annals[4], with an imposing array of pièces justificatifs, of original documents which were inaccessible to the protestant centuriators, and extinguished their meagre citations from familiar and printed books. The unsupported theory of the protestant history is refuted by the mere weight of facts. When we read as an event of A.D. 44 that in this year Peter transferred his episcopal chair from Antioch, where he had been seven years bishop, to Rome, where he continued for five-and-twenty years to administer the affairs of the church, we are reading a

[4] Baronius states, Annal. eccles. præf., his own purpose to be 'catholicæ ecclesiæ visibilem monarchiam a Christo domino institutam, super Petrum fundatam, ac per ejus legitimos verosque successores, Romanos nimirum pontifices, inviolate conservatam . . . per singula tempora demonstrare.'

bare fact as well known at Rome as the transactions of the year 1544. The protestants saw their historical pleadings, not answered, but eclipsed. They had been the aggressive party; they were now put out of court. The 'Annals' transferred to the catholic party the preponderance in the field of learning, which ever since Erasmus had been on the side of the innovators. It was the turn of the protestants to feel the urgent need of an antidote to Baronius.

Exterminated in southern Europe, ground to the dust in France, threatened with violence in Germany, it was only in Holland or Britain that the protestant party had strength or heart for any literary undertaking. But neither in Holland nor Britain were there the resources for a history on the scale of Baronius. And there was only one man who possessed the knowledge requisite; he was some way past fifty, and exhausted by a life of desk-work. Yet Casaubon resolutely girded himself for the fray. The idea was not new to him; he had long contemplated the plan of an answer to Baronius in the only shape in which it was possible.

At his age a rival church history was not to be thought of. Nor is it clear that if such a history had been written it would have commanded much attention, much less that it would have driven the 'Annals' out of the field. What had the protestants to set against the mysterious 'archives' of the Vatican, whose records had been kept by seven notaries ever since the days of S. Clement? It is true the oldest documents were not forthcoming; they had, perhaps, been destroyed in Diocletian's persecution. But no matter. All that was important in them was well-known; it was an office tradition; a fact whose notoriety dispensed with proof.

Besides, the success of Baronius had been due to his having met a popular demand. There are periods when destructive criticism is the vogue, and only he who speaks against the established beliefs can obtain a hearing. Such a period had been the first half of the 16th century. Another access of the same temper was to occur again in the 18th century. But, about 1600, what the religious public wanted was a conservative reconstruction of the ecclesiastical legend. An uneasy feeling had been diffused by the reformation, which troubled pious souls, as if the hagiological tradition contained a fabulous element. It was poison, this sceptical suspicion, for how could the fabulous have got in, unless it had been wilfully put there?

The history of the catholic church had long ceased to be regarded as history. It was an edifying story, in which the devotional effect, and not the matter-of-fact, was the object of the narrator. The hagiographer had no idea of imposture, of palming off as true, that which he knew was not true. The plenitude of his faith in the church supported anything which was, or could be, told to the honour of the servants of Christ. It was not mere scepticism, it was an entirely new view of the church, when the protestant critic began to regard the church as an institution in time and place, and to ask if this or that alleged event was a real event—had actually happened.

This desire to believe, this pious wish to have the legend authenticated, was what Baronius met and satisfied. He gives the substance of historical evidence to the supernatural chronicle of the early and middle age church. The surprising vogue of his history was due to its want of true historical criticism. His pages embody, and sanction, with a vast apparatus of quota-

tion, all the romantic legends so dear to the faithful but uneducated catholic. And while he preserved round the church story that picturesque haze which faith cherished and which historical science would dissipate, he satisfied the requirements of the political churchman by turning the annals of the church into one long proof of the supremacy of the roman pontiff.

A protestant history, which had no saints, no miracles, could have had no success. History cannot be negative, it must have something to narrate. All that was possible therefore for Casaubon was criticism. There was one side on which Baronius was vulnerable, and on that side Casaubon resolved on making his attack.

The 'Annals' was a work of gigantic labour. In the first flush of its early triumph, the imposing array of authorities, the exhaustive compilation of all the passages, had overwhelmed criticism, and it passed for a work of learning, not only in catholic universities, and in Italy, where the tests of learning had ceased to exist, but generally. Casaubon himself, as we have seen, had been impressed by his first sight of the earlier volumes in 1598. But as time was given for examination of the details, it began to appear that the champion of the church was not only wanting in historical criticism, but destitute of the more elementary acquirements necessary for extracting the sense of ancient writers. Had the 'Annals' been the work of a scholar, it was impossible that in so enormous a mass of facts there should not have been errors. A benedictine monk is said—but the authority[5] is not first-rate, for it is that of the professional gladiator, Scioppius—to have found 2000 errors in Baronius. And Lucas Holstenius,

[5] Ap. Colomiés, Bibl. choisie, p. 153.

afterwards, professed to have swelled the number to 8000[6]. But mere mistakes are but errata and can be corrected. Casaubon gradually discovered that Baronius' errors were errors of scholarship. Rather he was not in possession of the elements of learning. He knew no hebrew, no greek[7]. He was totally destitute of the critical skill which is implied in dealing with ancient authors, so as to elicit their meaning. In fact this vast historical edifice, with its grand front and stately chambers, was a house of cards, which a breath of criticism would demolish in a moment.

If Casaubon did not detect the imposture at once on first looking into the book, it must be remembered that he only had the reading of a volume casually, and while he was engrossed with other subjects. At the very first reading he had felt, and had expressed to Scaliger[8], his keen perception of the difference between the real learning of the 'Thesaurus Temporum' and the 'Annales.' Besides, Casaubon himself was in steady growth, and in the ten years which followed 1598, raised his standard of judging, and especially enlarged his knowledge of ecclesiastical antiquity.

He was at first disposed to attribute the citation of so much apocryphal literature to bad faith on the part of Baronius. He could not believe that any one who was in the habit of handling the remains of the greek and latin writers, should not know better. Here he

[6] Guy Patin, Lettres, 25 fév. 1660, to Falconet.

[7] This was well understood in protestant circles. See Cappelli Vindiciæ pro Isaaco Casaubono, 1619: 'Deerat illi [Baronio] sane linguarum orientalium cognitio, græcam vix primoribus labris delibarat, disciplinis mathematicis imparatus erat.'

[8] Ep. 175: 'Ita demum didici . . . inter φιλαλήθειαν et gratiæ aucupium interesse tantum.'

was undeceived by Fra Paolo, to whom he had communicated this suspicion. While speaking meanly of the work, the father vindicated the character of the author. 'Those who know the man,' he writes[9] to Casaubon, 'will not easily be persuaded to think him dishonest. It is want of mind, of critical knowledge. I knew him at Rome, before he put himself in the road to preferment, or had got the itch of writing, at a time when the cure of his soul was his only business. I never knew a more simple being. He had no opinions of his own; he caught up the opinions of those he lived with, and obstinately maintained them, till some new person supplied him with a new one. He was without judgment, if you please; but "dolus malus," there was none about the man. I cannot think that he is an antagonist worthy of you; and it has always been matter of surprise to me that his work should have stood so high, as it has, in public esteem.'

Further study of the 'Annals' convinced Casaubon of Baronius' good faith. But it was at the expense of his understanding[10]. The prestige of the work had imposed upon him at first. It had seemed impossible that a history, which all the world was agreed to regard as a learned work, should not have some title to be so considered. He was irritated as a scholar by the vogue of an unscholarlike work. He lamented, as a citizen, the triumph of the evil cause. He thought he could not render a better service to the church than by

[9] Ep. 811.

[10] On one occasion Casaubon is compelled to admire the dexterity of Baronius. It is where Vigilius, having become pope, has to be whitewashed. Adversaria, 3. 103: 'Diligentiæ plus semper tribui Baronio, quam acuminis. at cum video qua dexteritate concinnet metamorphosin Vigilii . . . non possum quin exclamem, si verum non est, at est ingeniose inventum.'

exposing the spurious character of the literary idol of Rome. It was not Baronius he was going to attack, but Italian erudition, the sham learning which the old impostor was substituting for the sham miracles of the dark ages.

This was the spirit in which he set about the 'Exercitationes,' and had been preparing the materials long before he came to England. If we enquire what success Casaubon had in his enterprise, we shall be compelled to admit that it was not a decisive triumph.

The form in which he cast his matter was unfortunate. The 'Exercitations' are a collection of detached notes on the 'Annals.' They follow the order of the 'Annals,' but have no other connection than the chronological sequence. There is no common thread of argument to give unity to the composition. Such miscellaneous common-place books, as Hallam[11] has said of Turnebus' 'Adversaria,' 'can only be read in a desultory manner, or consulted upon occasion.' But when such notes are not merely desultory, but in a strain of censure, sometimes descending to mere fault-finding, the reading becomes not only distracting, but distasteful. Casaubon has sufficient respect for himself and his adversary not to descend to the blackguard scurrilities of the pamphleteers of the day, but he is too often calling upon the reader to wonder at the ignorance and fatuity of Baronius. His criticism wants the repose of immeasurable superiority, such as characterises the greatest critics, e. g. Lobeck's Aglaophamus[12], in his treatment of Creuzer.

[11] Lit. of Europe, 1. 482.

[12] Friedländer, Gedächtnissrede, p. 11: 'Der Ton des Aglaophamus bewahrt im Ganzen die volle Ruhe unendlicher Ueberlegenheit.'

This great disadvantage in point of form, viz. that the 'Exercitations' are a critique of another book and follow its arrangement, has obscured the credit which would otherwise have followed the same material if better arranged. As it is, the book has formed a mine of references which have been very useful to the compilers of 'notes' on the New Testament for the last 250 years[13]. Nor is it all attack. There are incorporated in the book some dissertations in which Casaubon comes forward to instruct the reader directly. Such a portion are the chapters on the different names by which the Eucharist was spoken of in the early ages[14]; a chapter which has furnished Waterland[15] with a great part of his references in chapter I. of his 'Review of the doctrine of the Eucharist.'

A desultory critique, passage by passage, of another man's book, prolonged through nearly 800 pages in folio, does not constitute attractive reading. What would the 'Exercitations' have been, if Casaubon had lived to carry out his design? He proposed to set over against Baronius' twelve folios, volume for volume of his animadversions[16]. Of this monster criticism the volume which we have is only the first half of the first volume—a mere fragment!

Besides the fault of their original design, the 'Exercitations' have a fault of execution.

There were two points on which Baronius lay entirely at Casaubon's mercy. 1. His entire want of greek, and of classical learning of any kind. 2. His

[13] See Crenius, Animadvv. p. 123, for instances of unacknowledged borrowing from Casaubon's 'Exercitationes.'

[14] Exercitt. pp. 500–586. ed. Lond. 1614.

[15] Works, vol. 7. pp. 20–43.

[16] Ep. 782: 'Duodecim tomis totidem libros oppono.'

employment of the apocryphal literature, and production of the roman fabulous history, as if it were matter-of-fact. Casaubon could have assured his victory, however little worth it might have been, had he confined himself to exposing the blunders of one who thought that the word 'missa' (the mass) was the term in use at Jerusalem in the time of S. James[17], or the credulity which relied on the false Decretals, which even Bellarmine had given up. But Casaubon has not confined himself to matters of language or history. He has gone in for theological controversy, thus forsaking the vantage ground of learning, and letting himself down on that of mere opinion. When he first planned the work, he had intended, of such matters, only to touch what bore on the regalian rights[18]. He was gradually led on to other controverted points of theology. Indeed, he did this sparingly[19], and, as the english bishops thought, too sparingly. Andrewes, who looked over the sheets wished 'he would not spend so much time on mere questions of chronology.' Casaubon was hampered by his position as protestant champion. Both his public and his patron, expected to see the doctrinal errors of Baronius refuted. They thought that Casaubon's name would carry the weight of his authority in the arena of religious dispute. His occasional descent into the sectarian controversy has only the effect of lowering the tone, and obscuring the character, of the whole work. Even as a polemical success the blow dealt at the papal historian would have told more, if Casaubon had confined himself to his critical

[17] Exercitt. p. 582.

[18] Prolegomena in Exercitt.: 'Illa solummodo attingere consilium erat, quæ ad jura principum pertinent.'

[19] Ep. 795: 'Mere theologica parce attingo.'

corrections, which were unanswerable, and not committed himself to disputation on mere matters of opinion.

Hallam has expressed his opinion that [20] 'in mere theological learning, Casaubon was behind some english scholars.' These general comparisons of degrees of learning admit neither of being proved nor refuted. Of Englishmen living at the same time as Casaubon, there are but two who could be brought into competition with him, Selden and Andrewes. But Selden was only thirty years old at the date of Casaubon's death, and his researches had lain in a field not the same as those of Casaubon. The comparison with Andrewes is more possible. Casaubon himself said of Andrewes [21] 'that he was deeply versed in the fathers,' and he was certainly a man of much greater originality of mind than Isaac Casaubon. Yet Andrewes could no more have written the 'Exercitations,' than Casaubon could have composed one of Andrewes' witty sermons. From the brilliant cut, thrust, and parry of Andrewes' pamphlet fencing, Casaubon's dull matter-of-fact style is far removed; but from a single one of the 'Exercitations' there is more to be learned than from the whole volume of the 'Tortura Torti.'

The material facts of the primitive history of the christian church lie in small compass, and are in Baronius and Casaubon alike. The difference here is not in extent of reading, but in the power of using the facts. Casaubon possesses them as knowledge, and can reason upon them for chronological and philological purposes. Baronius amasses them as a compiler; when he attempts to reason upon them, he

[20] Lit. of Europe, 2. 311.

[21] Adversaria, 28. 4: 'Soleo observare singula dicta viri sapientissimi, et in patrum lectione exercitatissimi, D. episcopi Eliensis.'

falls into ludicrous misconceptions, and yet misconceptions not of a nature which admit of being made very palpable to the general reader. Where Casaubon had the greatest opportunity, and where he has not used it, is in the legendary character of Baronius' whole construction. Baronius has swept into his repertory everything that could be found, true or false, probable or absurd. The anile fables, and apocryphal legends, which had accumulated round the scanty nucleus of the early christian story, are consecrated in the 'Annals' as serious portions of church history. He makes, indeed, some faint effort to discriminate. Though he inserts everything, yet he sometimes expresses a doubt of his apocryphal narratives, e. g.[22] of the dialogue between S. Paul and Dionysius the Areopagite at Athens. He rejects the Constantine endowment, but it is on the à priori ground that it would be unworthy of the church to have accepted, as a gift from the emperor, what it already held 'jure divino.' This modest beginning of criticism, like that of Bochary who would reduce the 600000 traditions of Islam to 70000, was unacceptable to the high party. Baronius is severely taken to task for his doubts by the spanish jesuit, a Castro, and the dominican, John de la Puente. Baronius is too sceptical for the spanish taste. The fact that Casaubon has not used his advantage in this respect betrays his own limitation as a historical critic. He constantly notices Baronius' recourse to apocryphal authorities, but it was not in him to take his stand on the broad principle of historical investigation, and to require that church history should be subjected to the same rigid scrutiny as all history. If he expresses a doubt of[23] Hydaspes, Hermes, and the Sibylline

[22] Annales eccles. 52. 10. [23] Exercitt. 1. 10.

oracles, it is not on critical grounds, but on the à priori improbability that God would have allowed the Gentiles to have had fuller prevision of the gospel revelation than was granted to the Jews. The genuineness of the epistles of Ignatius he is ready to establish[24] by new arguments. He knows the late date of the [25]'Areopagitica,' but then here he had Valla, Erasmus, and Scaliger to enlighten him. Epiphanius [26]'is far too ready to give credence to trifling fables,' and the fathers generally, both greek and latin, often blunder in matters of history[27]. But these same fathers, in matters of doctrine, become authorities; they are appealed to by Casaubon as judges in the last instance. The appeal indeed is not to the individual father, but to him as representing the belief of the church of his time. As an argumentum ad hominem against Baronius, who maintained that the church had never varied in doctrine or belief, and had been throughout what it now was, this appeal was admissible as a controversial expedient. But Casaubon goes much beyond this, and thinks that in ascertaining the opinions of a father he is not merely learning the opinion of a given period of the church, but obtaining truth valid for all ages. Baronius' 'Annals' was a lengthy pleading, a pamphlet in twelve volumes folio, in support of the authority of the existing church. Casaubon's 'Exercitations' is among the earliest of the array of anglo-catholic attempts to set up the authority of 'Antiquity,' as the canon of religious truth.

If the fathers are, to this extent, placed above the

[24] Exercitt. 16. 150.

[25] Ibid. 16. 43. p. 565. [26] Ibid. 15. 7.

[27] Exercitt. 1. 2: 'In historia, et in iis, quæ fidei non sunt, graviter hallucinari.'

application of historical interpretation, much more are the canonical books. In his notes on the N. T. (1587) Isaac Casaubon had shown a disposition to follow the true path of philological interpretation. Taking given words, what does the language require that they should mean? This principle of exegesis was not so difficult of application while, as an annotator, he was dealing with each passage singly. Now, when he has to consider the collective effect of a number of collated passages, he allows it to be overridden by the theological principle, the so-called 'harmonia dictorum biblicorum.' Statements in the gospels must be reconciled 'per fas atque nefas.' Many pages e.g. are wasted over the discrepancy as to the day on which the Passover was eaten. Baronius defends the common view which makes the fourth gospel conform to the synoptics; Casaubon the opposite, which squares the synoptics by S. John. But Casaubon, equally with Baronius, assumes that it would be 'blasphemous' to suppose discrepancy in point of fact[28].

It is creditable to Casaubon that, in a period of theological excitation, when religious passion was daily translating itself into overt acts of violence, he treats his opponent, if not with courtesy, at least with respect. Yet his anger is occasionally roused by Baronius' blundering misconstruction of everything he touches; and when he has occasion to speak of the fry of pamphleteers, he is not seldom savage[29], and sinks into the tone of the railing divine. But though he ob-

[28] Exercitt. p. 466: 'Mira res et vix credenda de hominibus qui dici se christianos et haberi postularent . . . (to say that) Matthæum, Marcum, Lucam in temporis circumstantia lapsos, ab Johanne esse correctos.'

[29] See Exercitt. p. 513.

serves the forms of civility which the cardinal's public position and private character imposed, it is clear that Casaubon's respect for his opponent diminished, instead of increased, as he subjected his work to closer examination. He came to recognise that the demolition of Baronius was scarcely a work of criticism at all, and that Fra Paolo had been right in telling him that Baronius was not an antagonist worthy of him. In March 1612, he writes to Grotius[30], 'I begin to realise the magnitude of the task I have undertaken, now when it is impossible to back out of it. Not that I have much trouble in confuting Baronius' sing-song, mostly childish stuff, the man himself without learning, letters, or theology. What costs me most effort is the extra work I have imposed on myself, viz. to set out, under each head of controversy, what was the belief of antiquity.'

The dissemination and permanence of books depends on many various causes. Criticism goes for very little; 'habent sua fata.' 'Les classes influentes ne sont plus celles qui lisent,' writes de Tocqueville[31], 'un livre, quelque soit son succès, n'ébranle donc point l'esprit public.' It would be difficult to show that the reputation of Baronius was sensibly affected by Casaubon's review. The 'Annals' sank under their own defects, and the change in public taste. The hagiological temper in the reading parts of Europe, which had enjoyed a forced reviviscence during the catholic reaction, could not maintain itself. Baronius was entertaining reading. As such Scaliger had read the first

[30] Ep. 779: 'Neque in confutandis næniis Baronianis magnus mihi labor; pueriles sæpe sunt; ipse indoctus, ἄμουσος, ἀθεολογητός.'

[31] Corresp. 29 juillet, 1856.

eight volumes in one summer[32]; a feat, even of eyesight, for a man over sixty[33], and occupied in his working hours with a laborious undertaking of his own. In this respect the competition of the secular romance, which came in in the 17th century, tended to throw hagiography into the shade. But the decline of Baronius' reputation for learning, which, we learn from Lestoile[34], began before Casaubon wrote, injured it more.

Because the 'Annals' did not sink out of sight at the touch of the enchanter's wand, the 'Exercitations' were proclaimed a failure by exulting enemies and disappointed friends. The Savile set were happy to think that Casaubon could not do what he had prevented them from doing[35]. Richard Montagu laments[36] that the very learned Isaac Casaubon was not a theologian; that he followed Scaliger even in his paradoxes; that he made much of trifles—critica titivillitia; that he spent all his labour on the volume of the gospel history, and not on the later periods; that he allows himself in irrelevant digressions. These were things that could be said at the time by the envious 'friends.' He did not please his immediate patrons, the bishops, who wished now that Casaubon had handled Baronius a little more roughly[37]. Like their successors in the 18th century, who regretted Butler's 'want of vigour[38],' they had no means of knowing which was in the right,

[32] Scaligerana 2ª. p. 24: 'Tota æstate octo ejus volumina legi.'

[33] Vol. 8 of the 'Annales' came out in 1600.

[34] Registre-journal, 16 jan. 1607: 'Baronius depuis un peu a perdu beaucoup de sa réputation.'

[35] See below, p. 422.

[36] Apparatus ad Origines eccles. præf. § 65 seq., and app. p. 136.

[37] Colomiés, Bibl. choisie, p. 151: 'Les evêques auroient souhaité que Casaubon eût traité Baronius un peu plus rudement qu'il ne faisoit, à quoi sa candeur et sa modestie ne puvent jamais consentir.'

[38] Byrom's Journal, March, 1737.

and thought want of passion a sign of weakness. The puritan party wished to see Baronius well abused, and charged with disaffection the man who would not stoop to do it[39]. To take up what Casaubon left unachieved, has been a favourite project with the protestant party. Richard Montagu went over the same ground again, to show how Casaubon ought to have done it, but could not, in his 'Analecta exercitationum ecclesiasticarum.' Gerard John Voss had written, and was encouraged by Laud, then bishop of Bath and Wells, to publish something, which never appeared, of the kind[40]. Nor is anything more known of the work of Jacques Godefroy, which he offered to, and which was approved by, the synod of Charenton in 1631[41]. Blondel, Magendie, Flottemanville, published critical remarks or corrections of Baronius[42].

Such was the opinion of contemporaries. As for the judgment of posterity, there is none worth mentioning to record. The 'mot' on the catholic side, 'that Casaubon had only knocked down a few battlements of Baronius' building,' is worth as little as that which Almeloveen[43] opposes to it, 'that if he did not kill Baronius, he inflicted deep wounds.' The last professed criticism is that of Leclerc written in the year 1709[44].

[39] Montac. app. præf. § 75: 'Ut contumeliis incesserem et opprobriis, quod nostri vellent, et non factum accusantur (sic).'

[40] Laud to Voss. ap. Colomiés, p. 153; and see Vossii Epistolæ, 2. p. 66.

[41] Quick, Synodicon, 2. 302.

[42] A. Wood, Fasti, 1611: 'James Martin, of Broadgates Hall, had ended his work against Baronius, but what that was he tells us not, neither in truth can I tell.' No wonder A. Wood could not tell. Casaubon, writing to Martin, tells him that he (Casaubon) has nearly ended *his* work on Baronius. This is the only foundation for A. Wood's statement.

[43] Vita Cas. p. 58.

[44] Bibl. choisie, 19. 229.

He says that Casaubon, 'in undertaking to refute Baronius, had undertaken a work above his strength. 1. He had not sufficiently meditated the first principles of theology. 2. He had not sufficient knowledge of chronology. 3. He was not sufficiently read in christian antiquity, but had only got it up for the purpose of this book.' I only cite this criticism because it is that which the biographies to this day continue to reproduce as a judicious summing up of the case. All that it proves is, that famous reviewers in 1709 judged of books without reading them, and that we copy their judgments.

No one was less satisfied with his work than the author himself. It was but a fragment of his vast scheme. He designed, if he lived, a continuation of it, but on a more constructive plan. He proposed[45] to exhibit an impartial picture of the internal and external form of the ancient church. This wish was never fulfilled. Among the Adversaria[46] are some very short notes on the later volumes of Baronius, some of which are printed by Wolf[47]. The single volume of the 'Exercitationes' is all that was ever realised of the vast schemes of ecclesiastical history which had been conceived early in the Genevan period, and which had been postponed, but never given up. In 1596, æt. 37, rising fresh and confident, rather than exhausted, from his long labour on Athenæus, he announced to Bongars[48] that he should now proceed to Polybius; 'after which, if I live, with God's aid I shall put my hand to a greater undertaking. I desire to set an example to men of our side, how that leaving these gladiatorial fencing-matches, so mischievous to the christian world,

[45] Ep. 950.
[46] Tom. 3. and tom. 14.
[47] Casauboniana, pp. 123–180.
[48] Ep. 1008.

they should turn themselves to the illustration of the holy fathers, and the affairs of the primitive church.'

How sad must have appeared to himself the contrast between the promise and the performance eighteen years later! Writers are apt to flatter themselves that they are not, like the men of action, the slaves of circumstance. They think they can write what and when they choose. But it is not so. Whatever we may think and scheme, as soon as we seek to produce our thoughts or schemes to our fellow-men, we are involved in the same necessities of compromise, the same grooves of motion, the same liabilities to failure or half-measures, as we are in life and action. Compared with the vast designs we frame in youth, all production seems a petty and abortive effort!

7.

LONDON; ELY; CAMBRIDGE.

1610—1614.

CASAUBON is apt to complain of the reluctance he finds in himself to put pen to paper. When he did do so, his hand moved with rapidity. 'Fervet opus,' he says of the review of Baronius[1], and it is strictly true. He began to turn his attention to the subject early in the year 1612, some time about the middle of January. He was revolving the matter for several weeks, and directing his reading towards the period comprised in Baronius' first volume. But in such a wide field reading was not yet become search, and he has freedom enough of mind to be enjoying S. Chrysostom, in Savile's magnificent edition, which was then in progress[2]. On March 23 he is ready to sketch a plan in outline of the work he is to write[3]. On April 27 he begins to compose[4]. 'After long deliberation, meditation, preparation, I set myself seriously to work on my criticism of Baronius, may God bless the undertaking! Thou, merciful Jesus, knowest that it is not vanity, or desire of empty fame,

[1] Ep. 923.

[2] Eph. p. 926: 'In Chrysostomo fui et hodie, legique multa illius, præsertim quæ scripsit in cap. 6. Johannis.'

[3] Eph. p. 923.

[4] Eph. p. 928.

which moves me to undertake a work of such magnitude, but the single purpose of defending truth!'

At first he writes out detached criticisms. On July 27 he records the commencement of the continuous text of his book[5]. His progress, rapid as it seems to us, was not answerable to his own fervid impatience. On August 12, he writes[6], 'I never quit my work, and yet I do not get on as I should like.' He toiled on, 'sweating, more than enough' (sudavi plus satis per hos intensissimos calores) through the hot months, refusing the bishop's invitation to go with him into his diocese, and on the last day of the year could congratulate himself on having reached the 400th page[7]. On April 20, 1613, he announced to de Thou that he had arrived at the end of so much as he meant to publish[8] as a first instalment, —of the whole, that is, of the book as it now stands. On May 16 the rough draft has, by successive writing and rewriting of parts, been brought to a state in which he can begin copying it out for press. He now allows himself a little holiday, the first since he began the work in the January of 1612. He visits Oxford, though, in this visit, he has partly in view to make extracts from books in the Bodleian, not to be had in London. On his return, on June 9, he begins to write out for press, and sends off the

[5] Eph. p. 928: 'Hodie observationes in Baronium serio sum aggressus; nam hactenus magis paravi subsidia ad scribendum quam scripsi; nunc, deo duce . . . ad opus manum admovi.'

[6] Ep. 830: 'Equidem nullum tempus intermitto; etsi quantum promoveam me sane pœniteret.'

[7] Eph. p. 958.

[8] Ep. 883: 'Perveni, dei beneficio, ad finem ejus partis quam nunc sum editurus, quæ etsi satis erit magna, ultra Domini vitam tamen non pertinget.'

copy to the printer as fast as he gets it done. On June 18 printing begins. The compositor is not lacking in industry, but does not work up to the author's impatience, and being king's printer, is taken off occasionally[9]. Casaubon can keep ahead of the press. In August, the production was at the rate of a 'folio'=four pages in folio, per day, at which rate Casaubon calculates it will require 150 days to finish[10]. He hoped it would be out by the new year. Gradually this date receded; 'You know what it is to get a book through the press,' he writes to de Thou[11]. On November 18, he has passed the 500th page, but there are 220 pp. more to come, and the introductory epistle, etc. to write yet. On February 14 he finishes the epistle to the reader, and at last, on March 23, the volume is presented to the king. If it had not been for the publisher, Bill, the volume, it seems, would not have ended at page 773. The author could, and would, have gone on indefinitely, but the publisher insisted upon getting it out in time for the Easter Frankfort fair, and Casaubon had to leave out part of his long discussion on the Eucharist. After all, the copies which went to Frankfort, went without the prolegomena, which could not be printed off in time[12].

The whole work, from the first preparatory notes to the day of publication, was achieved in two years

[9] Ep. 931: 'Operæ, etsi illæ quidem non cessant, segnius tamen pergunt quam ut incitatæ cupiditati meæ faciant satis.' Eph. p. 991: 'Operis inchoati editio cessat.'

[10] Ep. 906: 'Quotidie folium unum editur; ita duratura est hæc editio dies *ἐργασίμους* centum et quinquaginta plus minus.'

[11] Ep. 931: 'Non te fugit quid sit libros edere.'

[12] Ep. 941.

and two months. Casaubon shrank from no drudgery. He had written over the whole, with his own hand, two or three times; parts of it even four times[13], adding much at each revision, though also rejecting much as unsatisfactory upon review[14]. The indexes even he must make himself[15], a fact which accounts for their excellence.

The mere clerical labour undergone was severe for one in broken health. In a book depending so largely on textual authorities, the mere reference involves great toil. Yet mere reference was the lightest part of what had to be done. It is a comparatively easy thing to accumulate citation. Exhaustive research is a different process,—a process, which, while it has much fatiguing exertion of eye and memory, derives its whole value from the intelligence which directs it, and is engaged in sifting the material. It was here a great disadvantage to him that he was without his own copies of the necessary books, copies in which he knew his way about, guided by the finger-posts which he was in the habit of marking in the margin as aids to the memory, 'quos usu contrivi.' Yet the citations actually made use of in the 'Exercitations' were only a small part of the whole he had accumulated[16]. 'I have surpassed the most diligent in diligence,' he says[17]. 'Erycius Puteanus, who writes that I am abandoning myself

[13] Ep. 931.

[14] Eph. 942: 'Quædam hodie, sed quæ mox displicuerunt.'

[15] Eph. 1037: 'Illiberales istæ curæ de indicibus.'

[16] Ep. 931: 'Exhaurire adversaria mea si voluero, ante annos aliquot non possim manum de tabula.'

[17] Epp. 844. 923: 'Qui putant me τρυφᾶν in hac aula, et literis ἀποτάξασθαι ut scribit Puteanus, parum norunt ærumnas laboriosissimæ vitæ meæ!'

to the sloth and luxury of a court, and have renounced letters, can have little notion of the hard and laborious life I lead!' Of this research there could be no record. It is merged in the recurrent formula of the diary, 'hodie studia;' or *τὰ ἐγκύκλια*. In such enquiries, how many volumes have to be gone through from which nothing is reaped! Wearying as his task-reading must have been, his recreation was only reading again. In September 1612, e. g. we find him spending his 'leisure hours'[18] on a MS. rabbinical commentary. At another time he reads[19] a pamphlet sent him by the king, 'Trois très excellentes prédications,' etc., 'not worth spending a moment on, but for the passages in which the preachers unite in lauding the doctrine of parricide.'

It is only occasionally that the name of the book read is entered in the diary. From the commencement of the 'Exercitations' to the end, i. e. two years and a half, the following are all that are chronicled: Cyprian; Chrysostom; 'many pieces of him;' 'good books, especially Chrysostom;' 'homilies of Chrysostom;' Chronology of Liveley in MS.; Jael Moris, B.M.; Dionysius Areopagita; 'Lutheran books;' Hospinian, Historia sacra; Rainolds, Liber Prælectionum; Œcolampadius, Dialogue on the Eucharist, read with 'admiration of the learning of the man, and his acquaintance with the greek fathers;' Sermons of S. Augustine; Tostati; and June 11, 1614, 'much in S. Augustine.' This is the last book mentioned as read. Comparing this list with the 'Exercitations,' we see how far the diary is from being any record of the reading done at the time. The 'Ex-

[18] Ep. 832: 'Quicquid superest vacui temporis, ejus magnam partem impendo lectioni commentarii Hebraici in Pirke Avot.'

[19] Adversaria, tom. 28.

ercitations' quote nearly 300 different authors, reckoning the Councils only as one, and taking no account of the texts of scripture quoted. Though the 'Adversaria' are mostly without date, yet some of the extracts from books can be identified as belonging to the last two years, e.g. Tostati is only named on one day in the diary [20]. But we find from a note in the Adversaria [21], that he had gone through the voluminous commentary on S. Matthew, which could hardly be done in a part of a day.

We have seen how Casaubon groaned over the self-imposed task of editing Athenæus [22] and longed to have done with it. The more serious labour of refuting Baronius, on which others had engaged him, he held to with unflagging zest. He only took one holiday in the two years and two months, and that was for a short visit to Oxford. During the whole of his english residence, he made in all four country excursions, his attendances at court not included. In Feb. 1611 he went to Dover to meet and escort Madame Casaubon. In April, he paid a visit to sir Henry Savile at Eton. In August he went with the bishop of Ely into his diocese, and resided with him at Downham for two months.

It was Andrewes' custom to spend three months in the summer in his diocese. The air of the fens did not agree with him [23], but, had it been otherwise, his many duties required his presence in town the greater part of the

[20] Prid. kal. Aug. 1613: 'Reliquum diem in Tostato posui viro magno, ut illis temporibus, et pio.'

[21] Advers. tom. 28: 'Tostati obiter quædam observabamus cum ejus vastum commentarium in Matthæum percurreremus.'

[22] See above, p. 123.

[23] Isaacson, Life and Death, etc., p. xxix: 'The air of that place not agreeing with the constitution of his body.'

year[24]. We have seen above[25] the force of the mutual attraction which brought these two men together. On November 5, 1610, in the very first days of Casaubon's arrival in town, they had a conversation of some hours, in which the knowledge and sense of Andrewes greatly impressed Casaubon[26]. On November 24, the bishop, who is hard at work, the king urging him, on his answer to Bellarmine, reads part of it to Casaubon and the dean, that he may have their corrections. From this time Casaubon sees the bishop almost daily[27]. It seemed almost matter of course that when Andrewes quitted town for his diocese he should take Casaubon with him.

They started July 26, (1611), and stopt at Cambridge, which it took them two days to reach. Here they were lodged at Peterhouse, of which the bishop was visitor. Ths master, Richardson, was a man of some reading; at least he had read in his youth, and in a line of reading not very common—he knew something of the imperialist chroniclers. The dispute between the emperor Henry IV. and the see of Rome was a subject that interested Casaubon just now, and Richardson obliged him with the loan of books on the subject and others[28] to Downham. Four years after Casaubon's visit, 1615, Richardson was promoted to the mastership of Trinity. Casaubon 'will excuse the notes which he had scribbled many years ago on the margin of his Optatus Milevitanus, and which were only intended as aids to

[24] It would seem that the bishops of Ely were habitual non-residents. Masters, Life of Baker, dedic., speaks of Bp. York's 'unusual residence in his diocese.'

[25] See p. 328.

[26] Eph. p. 783: 'Cum sapientissimo et doctissimo viro D. Episcopo Eliensi aliquot horas posui.'

[27] Ep. 754: 'Mihi cum illo præsule quotidiana consuetudo intercedit.'

[28] Burney MSS. 365. p. 350.

memory.' The next morning Casaubon was shown over the colleges by his old correspondent Richard Thomson, who, though it was vacation, was to be found in Clare Hall. After dining at Peterhouse, the bishop and Casaubon went on to Downham, making a call upon the dean at Ely, by the way.

In this summer retreat in the country, Casaubon enjoyed forty-eight days of peace and leisure, without the daily urgency of a literary task. These few weeks were all of english country life he was destined to see. The flat fen of Donnington is not a favourable specimen of our rural scenery, but Casaubon thought it beautiful[29], coming from S. Mary Axe. Though he had lived at Montpellier, he thought the apricots of the isle of Ely rivalled those of France in flavour. He was struck with the wealthy appearance of the country. He saw something of provincial life, accompanying the bishop on a progress, or visitation, which he made to Wisbech and the neighbourhood. Here Casaubon, who was a keen observer of anything new, made acquaintance with the bittern and the bustard, with turf fires and stilts. He enquired into the fattening of godwits for the London market; into the manufacture of rape seed; the culture of hemp; the construction of the Ely 'lantern.' He was pleased at being able to verify, in the isle of Ely, the description in the 'Panegyrici[30]' of the trembling bog in the Low countries. The current volume of the diary was taken down to Downham, but on this progress Casaubon allowed himself to be separated from it. He made the notes of these six days on a separate

[29] Eph. p. 865: 'Ipse ager Dunnitoniensis et re et specie pulcherrimus est.'

[30] Eumenius Paneg. Constantii, c. 8.

sheet of paper, which is still preserved among his Adversaria, and on his return to Downham copied them into the diary.

His greatest pleasure in this retreat was the conversation of the bishop, from whom he was not willing to be parted[33]. But they could not be together all day, and Casaubon could not do without books. It should seem that in bishop Cox's spacious palace, on which Andrewes also[34], during his ten years' occupancy, expended a considerable sum, there was no library. The bishops had no official libraries. Andrewes had a very choice collection of his own, but they were in London[35]. During his three months' abode at Downham he depended on supplies from Cambridge. The master of Peterhouse undertook to supply Casaubon, but seems to have ill-taken the measure of his voracious appetite[36]. In these days in which he was reading, not to write, but simply for reading sake, he read Baronius, 'Præscriptiones adversus hæreticos;' Camerarius, 'Vita Melanchthonis;' Id. 'Epistolæ;' Whitaker, 'Contra Campianum;' Eunapius; Optatus Milevitanus; several volumes of the writers on the dispute between the emperor and the pope, published by Goldast. These last were new to him, being only just published. The others he had read before, and had not asked for. They were Richardson's selection for him. But Casaubon, famished as he was, was not nice in his choice,

[33] Eph. 864: 'Libenter facio ut a tanto viro ne divellar.'

[34] £2440 altogether on Ely House, Downham, and Wisbech Castle. See Isaacson, Life and Death, p. xv.

[35] See Andrewes, Works, vol. 1. p. cxiv.

[36] Burney MSS. 365. p. 350: 'Credo te librorum tibi cupere aliorum copiam fieri, cum priores superiore septimana missos longe ante hoc temporis totos evolveris.'

and was not sorry to go over old ground at leisure. Of Camerarius' epistles he made copious notes. [37] 'Whoever desires to make proficiency in the art of living piously should read them.' Hadrian Junius' 'Animadversiones,' another offer of Richardson's [38], 'though often handled by me, yet, in the dearth of other books, I was not sorry to read again, for the author was really a learned man.' Even on the progress, he could not be without a book, and took Eunapius and Whitaker, with him for the purpose. At the house of a gentleman in Wisbech he saw the Prophecies of Abbot Joachim in latin and italian [39]. He writes from Downham to de Thou that [40] 'I contrive to support myself by the conversation of the bishop, and by reading such books as I can get hold of here.'

But country life without books could not long charm him. And reading for reading's sake was now no longer possible to him. The furor of mere acquisition had now come to be the ambition to reproduce, to rebuild. He becomes more and more restless. He worries himself because his time is lying idle; because he is not grinding at the theological work of which he is ever dreaming, and which never came to anything. He loads the autumnal air of the pleasaunce at Downham with sighs and groans because Madame Casaubon is away in France, and because he does not hear from her by every post, i. e. twice a week [41]. 'I am amazed at this

[37] Eph. p. 862: 'Legat eas epistolas qui vult in arte vitæ hujus pie degendæ proficere.'

[38] Advers. tom. 25. p. 121.

[39] Advers. 25. p. 115.

[40] Ep. 743: 'Sermonibus cum ipso, et librorum, quos hic nancisci possum, lectione, me sustento.'

[41] Eph. p. 864: 'Ad hoc silentium uxoris et meorum stupeo.

continued silence of my wife and all my people! What can it mean? It is torture to me, torture!' He fixes a day for his departure. The bishop will not hear of it; detains him 'with the golden chains of courtesy.' Thomson, who is at Bury S. Edmunds, implores him to defer his departure till Friday[42], when he is coming over to Downham, that he may have the benefit of Casaubon's powerful intercession with the bishop, 'to whom he entirely entrusts himself and his case.'

There was a cabal, in his own college, Clare Hall, to turn him out of some university office he held. Some allegations could be brought against his morals. Thomson, though of english parentage, was a native of Holland, and had perhaps imbibed the taste of the country. But, besides a weakness for strong waters, he was suspected of a much more criminal weakness for Arminianism. The archbishop had been made to conceive a very bad opinion of him. 'How I am to recover his favour,' writes Thomson[43] to Casaubon in 1611, 'I have not yet been able to discover any channel.' As for the charge of his enemies that he was not qualified to preside over the exercises in the schools, he declares it to be ridiculous. Things must have gone to a great length, for in August, 1611, Thomson is informed that the master of Clare is getting a memorial against him signed in the university. [44] 'What is most grievous

Deus bone quid est? quid dicam? quid suspicabor? crucior, crucior animi.'

[42] Burney MSS. 366. p. 251: 'Tu, nisi incommodum sit, in diem Veneris profectionem tuam differ.'

[43] Ibid.: 'Hujus gratiam quomodo mihi conciliem viam nullam invenire aut aperire hactenus possum.'

[44] Ibid.: 'Quod præcipue mihi cordolio est etiam rev. episcopum Eliensem convenire ausos super moribus ac vita mea, imo, quod ridiculum prorsus est, super insufficientiam regiminis.'

to me is that they have gone the length of waiting on the bishop of Ely to calumniate to him my walk and character, nay, a thing which is ludicrous, to represent that I am unfit for my office. As if I were such a fool and so inexperienced as not to be qualified to preside over the disputations in the schools.' This letter reached Casaubon while he was staying with the bishop of Ely. He seems to have thought that the best way to impress Andrewes favourably was to let him see Thomson. Accordingly, Thomson was invited to Downham, and the three together passed an evening in that talk which alone compensated Casaubon for being kept out of his study. The further issue of Thomson's affair is not known to me. This is the last occasion on which his name occurs in conjunction with that of Casaubon. Thomson endeavoured to propitiate the bishop of Ely by writing a pamphlet in defence of his 'Tortura Torti[45].'

After many postponements, Casaubon's feverish impatience to get back to his books tore him away from Downham, in spite of the bishop's manifest displeasure at this disregard of his hospitality. He stopped again at Cambridge on his way up, went over the rest of the colleges, and being pressed by the master of Peterhouse, stayed a second night in order to meet the professors at supper at the vice-chancellor's[46]. The literary character of the conversation pleased him, and he made the acquaintance of Harrison, who was able to show him two books which were new to him: Hugo, abbot of S. Victor, 'On the Psalms;' and a volume of the numerous works of Dionysius, called the 'Carthusian.'

[45] Elenchus refutationis Torturæ Torti pro rev. episcopo Eliense adversus Martinum Becanum, 8°. Lond. 1611.

[46] The diary, p. 887, has 'Cancellarium.'

In 1612, Casaubon gave himself no holiday. The bishop of Ely would gladly have taken him down into his diocese again. And there was the more inducement to Casaubon to go, as the heat of London in that August was excessive. 'Plus æquo sudavi,' Casaubon writes to de Thou. On the vigil of S. Bartholomew, August 23, o. s. the bishop writes from Downham [48]:—

'If you had been here you would have escaped heats of all sorts, those of the dog-days inclusive. At Downham we never know what heat is. It is true I have caught a fever, but from cold, exposing myself too long to the chill of the evening. In the city the radiation from so many walls, against an atmosphere thickened with coal smoke, and fog, makes what is with us a very small puppy (of a dogstar) into a molossian hound. . . Come to me, therefore, down here; come, if you will, on the day you left us last year, S. Augustine's day; and may the saint be more propitious to your return than he was to your departure last autumn, when he expressed his displeasure at your leaving us by a storm of rain. Come and see a fair celebrated throughout England [49]; or if you have no taste in fairs, you shall have a hebrew S. Matthew, which is in Corpus library.

'Do be persuaded to come. I shall get well at once if I can only see you. If it is only a few days' relaxation it will do you good. You shall shoot a deer, and rest after your three months' hard labour. We will let you go away when you please. Be so good as to remember that the hand which writes these lines has the ague. God keep you long to be an ornament to letters.'

[48] Burney MSS. 363, printed in Andrewes' Works, Bliss, I. xliii.

[49] On Stourbridge fair, see the exhaustive references of Mayor, 'Life of Bonwicke,' pp. 153 seq.

8.

VISIT TO OXFORD.

In May, 1613, having finished the volume of 'Exercitations,' at least in the rough draft, and Madame Casaubon being departed into France, Casaubon takes at last a holiday, and an excursion out of town.

He had long meditated a visit to Oxford. He had announced this intention at court some time before. The king took a great interest in the occasion. [1] 'What, not off to Oxford yet!' cried James in surprise at seeing him again in April; 'you don't seem much in earnest about going.' Thinking the delay might be emptiness of pocket, he removed this difficulty by a present. At last, on Thursday, May 17, having[2] locked up his library and taken the key with him, he left London, and went to sir Henry Savile's at Eton. Two years before Savile had engaged him[3] to make the same tour, and Casaubon had promised to meet him on August 1 at Oxford. The scheme had

[1] Ep. 822: 'Videris rem non multum curare.'

[2] Burney MSS. 366.

[3] Burney MSS. 366. p. 55: 'De kal. Aug. Oxonii vide ne vadimonium deseras, nisi antea tibi commodum fuerit, huc venire, illudque iter una conficere.'

been more than once proposed[4], but had not been executed. Savile supposed the difficulty to be want of the means of locomotion, and, surprised to hear that Casaubon had been many months in London, and yet not set up a horse, placed his own carriage at his disposal, and offered to send it for him any day that he would order[5]. Casaubon's delay was due partly to his much occupied time, but partly also to his little inclination for Savile personally. He would have preferred to have made his appearance at Oxford alone, but it was impossible, when sir Henry made a point of himself doing the honours of his university.

On Friday, May 18, Savile, who was at the same time provost of Eton and warden of Merton, took him in his coach[6] to Oxford, twenty-seven miles, as Casaubon is careful to note. He must have found them long ones, as the distance by the old road was over thirty-seven, and as, notwithstanding Savile's persistent attention to him, no cordiality ever existed between the two men.

If common studies were sufficient to cement friendships, Savile was the one man in England, in whose society it might have been anticipated that Casaubon would have found himself at home. Their correspondence had begun by letter in 1596, when Casaubon, at Thomson's instigation, had written at the same time to Camden and Savile, as the two Englishmen who interested themselves in greek learning. Casaubon

[4] Burney MSS. 366. p. 56: 'Toties spem fallenti.'

[5] Ibid. p. 52: 'Heus tu, post tot menses quibus hæres Londini, nec nos invisis, scribis te ἱππροβότην non esse? hæc mihi, qui ad diem quemvis a te præstitutum currum tibi meum præsto futurum receperim? . . . mone ad quem diem te Londini jubeas automedonta meum expectare.'

[6] Eph. 980: 'In rheda ipsius.'

had asked Savile for aid in his Polybius; Savile had sought, and received, collations, or communication of MSS, for the Chrysostom. Nor was theological diversity here a bar to intimacy, for Savile was even more anti-puritan than Casaubon himself[7]. But there was an innate antagonism of character which dissociated them. Casaubon, insignificant in presence, the most humble of men, but intensely real, knowing what he knew with fatal accuracy, and keeping his utterance below his knowledge. Sir Henry, the munificent patron of learning, and devoting his fortune to its promotion, with a fine presence, polished manners, and courtly speech, was not free from the swagger and braggadocio affected by the courtiers of James and Charles. He would enact the patron, but he also desired to be accepted by the experts as an expert, because he patronised them. Aubrey had heard Hobbes say [8]'that he (Savile) would faine have been thought to have been as great a scholar as Joseph Scaliger.' To be well with Savile, you must not only accept his patronage, you must admit his greek scholarship. In his acknowledgments to those who assisted him in the Chrysostom, Isaac Casaubon is named[9] indeed among a crowd of scholars, but Savile will owe his admission to the royal library, or rather the admission of 'our copyists' (nostri librarii), to nothing less than to the interposition of the 'ambassador of my sovereign.' He liked to have learned men about him, not that he wanted to hear what they had to say, but that he might show them. No one but he must exhibit

[7] A. Wood, Hist. et Antiq. 1. 1590: '(Savilius) vir a supervacaneis hisce catharorum inventis alienissimus.'

[8] Aubrey, Lives, 2. 524.

[9] Chrysost. Opp. tom. 1. lectori.

the lion of the day to the university, and he now had the glory of driving up High Street in full term, bringing in his coach Isaac Casaubon, a little respected as the first greek scholar living, much envied as a prime favourite of the monarch.

Notwithstanding their long journey, Casaubon was out immediately to take a survey of the colleges and halls,—a survey which he completed, with his usual plodding thoroughness, on Saturday morning. The splendour of the buildings filled him with admiration of [10] 'the piety and magnificence of *our* ancestors.' Above all the then, as now, unfinished design of the great cardinal struck him with wonder at the grandeur of the conception. As evidence that the sources of founders' munificence were not dried up, he noticed that much building was going on at Merton, where Savile was just finishing the fine frontage towards the meadows. Besides this, there was the usual rebuilding going on[11], occasioned by the perishing of the oolitic stone. A middle-age building, says Michelet, is no sooner finished than it requires to be repaired.

After dinner he was taken to see the Saturday disputation in the divinity school at which the regius professor of theology moderated. The regius professor at this time was Robert Abbot, master of Balliol. Abbot was a man of some reading, and, though he had a brother who was archbishop of Canterbury, and though he had been able to prove the pope to be antichrist, was not unworthy of the position he held. Casaubon was already acquainted with Abbot, who was

[10] Eph. p. 980: 'Nostrorum majorum pietatem et magnificentiam.'

[11] Ep. 899: 'Quædam collegia a fundamentis nova extruuntur.'

occasionally about the court. Now that he came to see him officiate he was highly satisfied both with the ability and the doctrine of the regius professor. His conduct of the disputation was everything that could be desired. On the critical question of 'faith and works,' for which all ears were then highly sensitive, he entirely satisfied Casaubon's judicial mind. He took, as became his office, a moderate position, not repudiating the calvinism of the old school, and making sufficient concession to the arminianism of the new school. It was well known that his own habits of thought attached him to the calvinistic side, and that he had no sympathy with the new anglo-catholic modes of thinking, which were rising into consideration, and were being pushed on by the younger zeal of Laud. Abbot, too, was a rising man, and on his preferment, and was accordingly contributing his pamphlet to the grand battle which was raging. His 'Antilogia' was in[12] the press at the time of Casaubon's visit. As he was going over in it, in more detail, the same ground which Casaubon had travelled in the 'Epistola ad Frontonem,' and had for the purpose the same collection of papers from the Tower records which had been in Casaubon's hands[13], this formed at once a common topic. Casaubon saw that he could not consult a more judicious critic, and put six sheets of his 'Exercitationes' into his hands with the entreaty that he would revise them in good earnest[14].

On Sunday, sir Henry exhibited his guest at both sermons, taking him to dine between times at the

[12] See above, section 6, note 41.

[13] Calendar of State papers, domestic, Jas. I.

[14] Eph. p. 983 : 'Meum opus D. Abotio communicavi, qui utinam seriam censuram exerceat.'

deanery at Christ Church. Casaubon was furnished by the archbishop with letters of introduction to the dean. On Monday, Savile left to return to Eton, and the dean insisted[16] on Casaubon transferring himself for the remainder of his stay to the deanery. The dean was William Goodwin, a man of no learning, but a judicious ecclesiastic, who accumulated the duties of the archdeaconry of Middlesex with those of his deanery—'vir probus et pius' is all Casaubon can say of him—but who would not fail in the exercise of hospitality to a man who came recommended by the archbishop. He maintained his acquaintance with Casaubon and visited him in London afterwards.

The usual honorary degree was, of course, offered, nay, pressed on him[17]. But Casaubon's good sense steadily declined a decoration which, from being lavished on rank or political partisanship, is no proper distinction of learning or letters.

He did not come with any special interest in the working of the academical system. But some points in Oxford life, those especially which contrasted strongly with the usages of Paris, impressed themselves upon his never inobservant eye. In Paris, as in the jesuit colleges, the scholars were as schoolboys, and as such were looked after by the principals and the regents. In Oxford, on the contrary, the students lived as young gentlemen, in their separate chambers apart, only meeting for the college exercises, and common meals. The heads and fellows of colleges, though governing and teaching the inmates of their respective houses, lived

[16] Eph. p. 981: 'Volentem, nolentem in suas *ædes* introduxit.'

[17] Ep. 885: 'Scio cogitare illos titulis magnificis me ornare.' Ep. 899: 'Omnes *πειθανάγκαι* sunt ab iis adhibitæ ut me summis honoribus insignirent.'

for themselves and for learning; or if not for learning, at least with other than pædagogic objects; an arrangement which approved itself to him highly[18]. The heads of colleges, some of them, 'lived like noblemen, splendidly, yea, magnificently, having an income of 10000 livres annual.' Hence, the virtue of hospitality, which, whatever else has been wanting, has never failed in Oxford. Casaubon's refusal of their honours did not damp the hearty welcome which the colleges were ambitious to offer him. 'It was one succession of banquets,' writes Casaubon[19], among which Magdalen was distinguished by its sumptuosity[20]. Abbot, with all his occupation on his book, was not behind the dean in hospitality, but entertained the stranger on May 28, with princely magnificence[21], which the recent annexation of a canonry, and of Ewelme, to the professorship of divinity by James, enabled him to show. Casaubon must have mentally compared these scenes with the condition of the Paris school, its buildings ruined, and its funds dilapidated by civil war. He never saw the Sorbonne in all its glory, such as it became after a generation of peace, when Quesnel[22] says, 'Une licence de théologie de Paris est, dans le genre des exercices de littérature, un de plus beaux spectacles qui se trouvait au monde.' To this wealth of the colleges Casaubon[23]

[18] Ep. 899: 'Quod valde probavi abest a collegiis Anglorum illa, quam vocant nostri, pædagogicam vitæ rationem . . . res studiosorum et rationes separatæ sunt; quod valde probavi.' These words were not understood by Hallam, who quotes the passage, Lit. of Europe, 2. 231.

[19] Eph. 984: 'In perpetuis conviviis versamur.'

[20] Eph. 983: 'Pransi in Coll. Magd. lautissimo apparatu.'

[21] Eph. 983: 'Regio apparatu suos convivas excepit.'

[22] Vie de M. Arnauld, quoted by Jourdain.

[23] Ep. 831: 'Est insitum huic nationi, ut sua amet, aliena ne

once ascribed the self-conceit of Englishmen; forgetting that he had had to make the same complaint of the Paris regents when he first came in contact with them[24]. The self-complacency of the parisian academic certainly was not due to wealth.

The passive victim of all this feasting, Casaubon, devoted many hours each day of his stay to reading. The focus of his interests, and one principal object of his journey, was the Bodleian. Only opened in 1604, this library, so rare then were public libraries, had already begun to attract to Oxford men from foreign parts and distant countries. The arrangements were favourable to work. It was open for six hours a day, three in the morning, and as many in the afternoon. It was closed for two hours at eleven or twelve, then the hours of dinner in the colleges[25]. As the public exercises were resumed in the afternoon, and common-rooms as yet were not in existence, dinner, however sumptuous, could not last beyond one or two o'clock, according to the season. This system of official punctuality in the service of the library contrasted very favourably with the usage of the king's library at Paris, where the librarians had no hours[26], and admission to which was matter of special request and favour.

From what has been said of Casaubon's reading, it

admittat quidem ad aliquam comparationem. Florentissima enim et ditissima sua collegia ipsis animos faciunt ut omnes non vereantur præ se contemnere.'

[24] See above, p. 188.

[25] These early hours held their ground till the middle of the eighteenth century. In 1753, Horace Walpole, Walp. to Bentley, found 'that fashion has so far prevailed over custom, that they have altered the hour of dinner from 12 to 1.'

[26] Cas. Ep. ad Bibran. ed. Schultze, p. 7: 'Die lunæ bibliothecam *fortasse* adibimus.'

may appear that he is omnivorous, and that nothing comes amiss to him. This is almost, but not quite, so. His aim was to interpret the ancients; and as this could only be by themselves, he desired to read all the remains of the greek and latin writers. But the want of assorted libraries, and of the catalogues to which such libraries have given occasion, made it difficult to know what texts had been printed since the beginning of the art. Still more was the coming across an inedited MS. an affair of chance. Casaubon is all his life through straitened in the matter of books. 'It has been one of the heaviest disadvantages of my studies,' he says[27], 'that I have hitherto lived among men who did not care to have even the most necessary books. I have therefore been obliged to supply myself out of my own purse, with almost all the ancient authors whom I have read. Some there are which I have never been able to procure at any price; such as Palæphatus, of whom I once met with a MS. at Orange, but have never seen since. Here at last (Paris), by divine favour, I got one and read it greedily[28].' On settling in Paris he came, for the first time in his life, into comparative plenty. The removal to London was, in this respect, a double deprivation. He had left all his own books behind, and found nothing which could replace to him the libraries of the king, and of de Thou.

[27] Adversaria, tom. 7: 'Non minima studiorum nostrorum infelicitas hæc, quod hactenus inter homines viximus, qui libros ad hæc studia necessarios non multum curarunt. itaque quoscunque fere legimus, veteres scriptores ære nostro nobis parare sumus coacti.'

[28] It would seem from this that the Aldine Æsop, 1505, which contains the greek text of Palæphatus, 'De incredibilibus' etc., was even then a rare book, as it is now among the scarcest of the Alduses.

Indeed Bill, the king's stationer, had a general order to supply him with the books he required for his work on Baronius. But Bill was himself very poorly supplied with books from abroad. Even a book published in Oxford[29] was not procurable in the London shops, so ill was the book-trade organized in England. If this was the case with new books, it was still more with old books. Thomas Savile mentions[30] that he could not get a copy of the 'Notitia' at the booksellers either in Oxford or London. Casaubon had occasional access to Cotton's library, a collection rich in[31] chronicles and antiquarian books, but not either classical or patristic. He therefore entered the Bodleian, a man with a vigorous appetite, who has been for some time on short rations. He threw himself greedily upon the stores thus opened to him, and in the twelve days over which his visits to the library extended, he made the best of his time.

His name was entered upon the register of readers as of Christ Church[32], though he had refused the degree which would have entitled him to call for any book as matter of right. He must have read as a stranger, introduced by the dean of Christ Church. His particular enquiry was for such books as were unattainable in London. We must not think of the Bodleian then as the magnificent collection which it has since become, but as in its first infancy, before even the Selden was aggregated to it. Of greek MSS. in which it is now

[29] Ep. 964: 'Nunc in urbe ejus exemplum non inveni apud librarios, quia est editus Oxonii.'

[30] Camdeni Epp. p. 9.

[31] Ep. 940: 'Legi in bibliotheca Cottoniana ejusdem libros De vita abbatum S. Albani.'

[32] Registrum S de actis in domo congregationis f°. 440 b.

rich, it possessed, at that time, very few. Yet few as they were, the demand for them was less. Holstenius, who was there in 1622, writes to Meursius[33], that 'he had busied himself in the Oxford libraries, turning over greek and latin MSS, which no one in those parts thinks of troubling.' After the wealth of greek to which he had been accustomed in the united King's and Medicean libraries at Paris, the Bodleian must have seemed to Casaubon poverty indeed[34]. What they had were produced for him. As he wanted to read, not to collate, new material was what he looked out for, and he fastened on the Thesaurus of Nicetas Choniates. This was not the valuable Choniates which we now have, which was only brought from Constantinople by sir Thomas Roe in 1628, but an abridgment or series of extracts from the 'Thesaurus' which had been made for cardinal Pole. The magnificence of the paper and the splendour of the calligraphy[35], 'the largest folio, the thickest paper he ever saw,' made it the show book of the library. But Casaubon was not content with looking at it, he sate down to read it, and read it through. And he not only reads it through, but makes twenty-three pages of extracts, in greek, for future use. S. Basil, Commentary on Isaiah, then inedited; Leo a Castro, ditto; Ephrem Syrus, in Gerard Voss' translation; Juan de la Puente, a book by him, lately brought out of Spain, read, and seven pages of extracts made, mostly in spanish. Euthymius Zigabenus,

[33] Holstenii epp. p. 10: 'Delitui in Oxoniensium bibliothecis, veteres codices græcos latinosque sedulo excutiens, quibus nemo istic locorum negotium facessit.'

[34] Ep. 899: 'Nihil ad regias opes.'

[35] Adversaria, 28. 53: 'In maxima et crassissima papyro, quam unquam videre memini.'

whom he had read in Paris, but could not get in London, he found in the Bodleian; also Suisseth, 'a long sought for book' (diu optatum librum). The two first volumes of the new edition of the Concilia[36], though three or four years old, could not be seen in London, as we may infer from the pains taken to extract the council of Chalcedon, in fifteen pages of close writing. A Euchologion[37], Osiander, 'Harmonia quatuor evangeliorum;' Lipsius in Suetonii tres posteriores libros, Offenbaci 1610; Wakefield, 'Syntagma de Hebræorum codicum interpretatione;' Laurentius Syslyga, 'hastily looked over,' but yielding nevertheless thirteen pages of extract; Joh. Ferus 'in Acta Apostolorum;' another anonymous commentary on the twelve first chapters of the Acts; Boethius, 'De rebus Scotiæ;' Alvianus Pelagius, 'De planctu ecclesiæ;' Espencæus, two works of his; Rainolds, 'De ecclesiæ romanæ idololatria;' all these are noticed or extracted in the Adversaria. But there were doubtless other things of which no mention is made either in the diary, or in the Oxford memoranda, e. g. he says[38] that the tractate 'De cœna domini,' which is included among the works of S. Cyprian, is not Cyprian's, but the work of some middle-age writer, 'as I read in a MS. of the library at Oxford[39].' After six hours' reading and writing at this pace in the library, there must be recreation. This he takes, on his return to the deanery, by more reading, but of a lighter sort, such as Wake's 'Rex Platonicus,' or by taking lessons in rabbinical hebrew from a young man of that persuasion.

[36] Romæ, ex typographia Vaticana, tom. 1. 1608, tom. 2. 1609.

[37] Venet. 1602.

[38] Exerc. in Baron. p. 515.

[39] 'Ut legi in MS. codice illustris bibliothecæ Oxoniensis.'

It is sad, but not surprising, to read in the diary, that in the second week of this régime, as he was ascending the Bodleian stairs, he was seized with sudden giddiness in the head.

What with the sermons, and the disputations, and all this reading got through, there does not seem to be much time left to be given to mere acquaintance. It would seem that the working academic of that day was as much burdened with official engagements as now. Abbot writes[40] that he is so driven by the business of commemoration, that he hardly has time to draw breath, much less to write letters. What intercourse Casaubon had with the leading men of the place had to be got during the meals. Men of learning, who could venture to challenge him to discourse of books, were but few. Indeed, it is an error to imagine that such have been, at any time in our university annals, numerous. Casaubon only found three men whom he distinguishes as in this category: Abbot, Prideaux, and Kilbye. Of Abbot we have already spoken. Prideaux (John) was rector of Exeter, who afterwards (1616) succeeded Abbot as regius professor of divinity. He had been a highly successful tutor, and had made Exeter a resort of the few foreign students who still, occasionally, found their way to Oxford. He, like Abbot, inclined to the old puritan, or calvinistic, party in the university, and was very obnoxious to the young arminian set[41]. He had been engaged by

[40] Burney MSS. 363. p. 23: 'Comitialium jam negotiorum æstu laborans, ut vix respirandi tempus habeam.'

[41] See Montagu's flippant letter, Cosin, Correspond. I. p. 22: 'Prideaux hath threatened to write against me. Utinam. But I think he distrusteth himself at his pen. For he saide to my lord of

the bishops to answer the last libel of Eudæmon-Joannes, in which Casaubon was personally attacked, and some correspondence had already passed between the two on this subject. The tendency of english divines just at this time was to disuse latin in their books, and to adopt english. Prideaux was one of the few who adhered to the old-fashioned latin, and owed his selection partly to this circumstance, as it was necessary to answer the jesuits in the language in which they wrote.

Casaubon was enjoying in the fullest measure that flattering homage which at either of the english universities is ever accorded to the eminent foreign scholar. How was he shocked, when the rector of Exeter came up to him, and enquired, with a serious air, 'If it were true that his father had been hanged?' Prideaux, in reading Eudæmon-Joannes' 'Answer to Casaubon,' had been puzzled by finding repeated allusions to a *rope*[42]. Casaubon had had as early as January some sheets of this pamphlet sent him from Germany. He had looked at them hastily, and thrown them aside[43] as frivolous. He had not even noticed, careful reader as he was, the allusions of which Prideaux spoke[44]. He could only conjecture what their meaning might be. Afterwards, by the aid of an Antwerp corre-

Oxford, that though I were a good scholer at my pen, and wrote well, yet he doubted not but att an argument he could plunge me. The man thincketh well of himself, yet if k. James please, I dare look him in the face, in his owne scholes.'

[42] Resp. ad epist. Is. Casauboni, p. 143: 'Quod ut tuo te fune strangules ipsemet scribis.'

[43] Eph. p. 966: 'Hodie vidi librum Andreæ Eudæmonos Johannis adversus me, futilem sane.'

[44] Ep. 896: 'Antequam te convenirem nihil ejus scivi.'

spondent, Sweertius, he traced to the jesuit college in that city, the head of which was Scribanius, the author of the 'Amphitheatrum,' a story that his father, Arnold, had been hanged. The calumny was 'ben trovato,' and wounded Isaac to the quick. No possession was more treasured by him than his father's good name, and the memory of his saintly life devoted to the cause of the church, through the days of terror. He was very solicitous that this lie should be replied to, and after his return to London he furnished Prideaux with that narrative of his father's last moments, which has been before quoted[45]. But the incident threw a cloud over the bright days of his reception at Oxford, which was further dimmed by another adventure of a different kind.

Of the three men whom we have named as having specially cultivated Casaubon during his visit, Kilbye (Richard) is the least known. His intimacy with Casaubon was probably founded on their common hebrew tastes, as, besides being rector of Lincoln (1590), he had also lately become regius professor of Hebrew (1610)[46]. Kilbye had been one of the translators of the bible—Oxford company, the prophets—and had written, but not published, a commentary on Exodus, [47]'the chief part of which is excerpted from the monuments of rabbins and Hebrew interpreters.' He also continued Jean Mercier's commentaries on Genesis, 'and would have printed them, but was denied.' Casaubon was intimately lié with Josias Mercier, the son of the author of the book in which Kilbye took this

[45] See above, p. 28; Prideaux, Castigatio cujusdam circulatoris, p. 24.

[46] He is said by A. Wood, Athen. Oxon. 2. 287, to have been prebendary of the cathedral church of Lincoln.

[47] A. Wood, ibid.

interest[48], and had himself a high value for his commentary, which he had selected in 1599 for his morning devotional reading[49]. Kilbye's MSS. are lost, but from five letters of his to Casaubon, and from a single printed sermon, we may gather thus much[50]; that he was a man of some reading beyond the common. His citations are from books not read by every one, and come in aptly, as if supplied by memory, not looked up for the occasion. The allusion to Cyprian, even in a short letter[51], has the same appearance of naturalness. Further, that he was pious and retiring; that he still continued[52]—he was fifty-three at the time of Casaubon's visit—to occupy himself with hebrew reading, to which occupation may, perhaps, be ascribed the negligence, and even incorrectness, of his latin. At his lodgings Casaubon saw an early copy of Raphelengius' Lexicon Arabicum[53], the only other copy in England being the bishop of Ely's[54]. Casaubon could not get one for himself in London. Kilbye is a fair specimen of the academical professor of

[48] Eph. 257: 'Magni Merceri doctissimus filius.'

[49] Eph. 129: 'Cepi Merceri in Jobum scripta legere, facturus deinceps hoc matutinum exordium studiorum, donec omnia illius magni viri perlegero.'

[50] The sermon is a funeral sermon on Dr. Holland, regius professor of divinity, and rector of Exeter, preached at S. Mary's, March 26, 1612. A copy with MS. corrections in Kilbye's own hand, is in the Bodleian. The five letters are in the Burney collection; MS. 364.

[51] Burney MSS. 364. 323: 'Deus namque providos non præcipites amat, ut scite Ciprianus.'

[52] Burney MSS. 364. 322: 'Multum enim fateor me eorum (i.e. Judæorum) scientia delectari.'

[53] Published 1613. This copy is now in the college library, to which Kilbye left 108 volumes of books, hebrew and latin; no greek.

[54] Ep. 898: 'Ego nullum adhuc exemplar illius lexici potui hic nancisci. duo tantum hactenus vidi exemplaria, unum in manibus Eliensis, alterum Oxonii apud professorem hebræum.'

his time; with some reading, but without learning or even the conception of it as a whole; his knowledge and his ideas confined within the narrow circle of ecclesiastical interests and ecclesiastical motive.

It was under the sanction of the professor that a young Hebrew, who went by the name of Jacob Barnet, found occupation and a livelihood by giving instruction in Hebrew to the students. He was in favour with the authorities, for Casaubon met him also at the rector of Exeter's. Getting into conversation with him, Casaubon was not only struck by his natural capacity, but was surprised to find so young a man not only a thorough master of the language, but deeply read in the books of his nation[55]. 'The vast mass of talmudic lore he possesses in a measure far beyond what I have ever met with in any jew before; and, rare thing in a jew, he knows latin.' The opportunity was too good to be lost, and Casaubon immediately took him on to read rabbinical hebrew with him. Nor did he stop here. When on Monday, June 4, he bade farewell to the university, he carried off Jacob with him to London in his own hired coach, and installed him in his house. Here he kept him as his inmate for a month. He found profit not only in his lessons, but in his conversation. Casaubon's close work, however, upon the 'Exercitations' prevented his profiting by this domestication at any other time than at meals[56]. Though the jesuits afterwards pretended that, as he had gotten his theological references from cardinal Du Perron, so Casaubon had his hebrew from Jacob the jew.

He soon found that he could not afford the burden of

[55] Ep. 924: 'Literis Judaicis et Thalmudicis supra fidem doctus.'

[56] Meric, Pietas, p. 101: 'Rarissime eos collocutos nisi inter epulas.'

an additional inmate [57], and was obliged to return him to Oxford. Jacob had for some time past evinced dispositions towards christianity, and now added to the interest excited by his rare learning, that of catechumen. In this capacity Casaubon sent him back, fortified with letters of recommendation to his university friends, and especially to the regius professor of hebrew, whose special protegé he was. Casaubon wrote no less than nine letters in one day on his behalf, and took the earliest opportunity of speaking to the archbishop, and even to the king about him. Abbot wrote himself from Croydon to the vice-chancellor, and enjoined Kilbye to undertake in person the instruction of the promising convert [58]. The conversion became the topic of the day in the university. All the details of the baptismal ceremony were arranged beforehand by the authorities with the most scrupulous anxiety. The archbishop ordered a sermon to be preached, the vice-chancellor named a preacher. Twisse of New college, the preacher, prepared his sermon. The vice-chancellor was to administer the rite. There being then no form of adult baptism in the anglican ritual, and no precedent being known, Casaubon was consulted as to what should be done [59], and the archbishop allowed an extempore, or, at least, an occasional prayer to be used,—another offence to the rising ritualist party. A keen debate arose in the council of doctors, heads, and proctors, as to the fittest time for the ceremony. Some, thinking of the bird in hand, wished

[57] Eph. 990: 'Nostris semper conatibus obstat res angusta domi.'

[58] Burney MSS. 364. p. 323; Kilbye to Casaubon, July 13, 1613; 'Illustrissimus archiepiscopus hanc provinciam mihi dedit ut illum instruam in articulis fidei, et misteriis christianæ religionis.'

[59] Ibid. p. 326: 'Si aliquem Judæum baptisatum videris, oro ut cærimonias quas vel ipse videris, vel ab aliis intellexeris, literis tuis denunties.'

to have the public baptism as part of the entertainment of the 'Act' (July 8). Kilbye deprecated haste and demanded to have the long vacation for the decent instruction of the neophyte. The convert himself was impatient to make his confession, but Kilbye moderated his ardour. Kilbye's opinion finally prevailed, and Michaelmas day was fixed for the edifying spectacle. In September, Kilbye reported to Casaubon that all was going on well, that his pupil promised excellently [60], and that 'he hoped he would turn out a second James, and faithful disciple of Christ.'

Michaelmas approached, and all was ready—all except the chief actor. The day before the ceremony was to come off, Jacob had decamped. The heads were furious at having been duped; the proctors' emissaries were sent out, horse and foot, to scour the country. They succeeded in capturing, without regard to the limits of their jurisdiction, the fugitive on the road to London. The vice-chancellor committed him to gaol,—for what offence is not clear—as even Casaubon ventured [61] to surmise that to decline baptism is not a misdemeanour by the law of England. However, they kept him locked up in Bocardo, a miserable hole, where he was like to have died of filth and starvation [62]. The rector of Lincoln, who was most compromised, was most indignant. He played with his victim, as a cat with its mouse, having him out of his hole every now and then to remonstrate with him on the wickedness of his

[60] Burney MSS. 364. p. 326: 'Optime spero de Jacobo quod futurus sit alter Jacobus Christi discipulus fidelis.'

[61] Ep. 924: 'Nam quod nolit fieri christianus, crimen legibus puniendum, opinor, hoc non est; sed tantum quod simulaverit.'

[62] Ibid.: 'Periculum esse, ne homo infelix fame et pædore pereat in illo duro carcere.'

conduct, but not paying any attention to his renewed offers of abjuration[63].

Casaubon was also deeply mortified at the part he had been made to play in the comedy. It threw a cloud upon what was otherwise a most gratifying visit. He was naturally very indignant. But when he heard of his suffering in his confinement, and that some of the doctors were bent upon having him further punished, he forgot the affront[64] in his sympathy with learning, and exerted himself both with the archbishop and the king to procure his release. This was not effected till December, but Jacob was banished the university precincts. [65]'It will be long,' writes Kilbye, 'before another jew of such attainments comes among us. Had he but put on Christ, what an aid he might have been to hebrew studies in this place! It is quite impossible for any one ever to understand the hebrew doctors by his own unassisted efforts, unless he has been first initiated by one of that nation.' The only one who came well out of the affair was Twisse, the preacher on Michaelmas day. Finding his prepared discourse balked, he delivered one, at a few hours' notice, on jewish perfidy, which was highly relished, at least by the calvinistic party, to which Twisse belonged. Either for his sermons, or for his german descent[66], he was nominated, in 1614, chaplain to the princess Elisabeth, and went with her to Heidelberg.

[63] Burney MSS. 364. 327: 'Sæpe famulum meum mitto, ut illum ad me adducat, et postea reducat.'

[64] Ep. 924: 'Etsi detestor illius perfidiam, non possum tamen non aliqua ejus tangi commiseratione propter excellentem ipsius doctrinam.'

[65] Burney MSS. 364. 322.

[66] A. W. Athen. Oxon. 3. 170: 'Twisse was "natione Teutonicus, fortuna Batavus, religione calvinista."'

The glimpse we get of the interior of the university of Oxford during Casaubon's visit, transient as it is, is yet one of the most intimate which chance has transmitted to us from that age, prior to the time of Anthony Wood. It shows us, in clear relief, the old and well-established features of the place, a character which was imprinted on it before the reformation, and which belongs to it still, in spite of many superficial changes, as it did in the time of James I. We find a school where much activity prevails in the routine instruction, and where the time and force of the resident instructors is much consumed in the formalities of official duty, and the management of their affairs. Of any special interest in science, learning, or the highest culture, there is no trace. The conception of classical learning as Casaubon conceived, and attempted to realize it, was unknown. What science there was in England was in an attitude of hostility. Neither Selden nor Bacon were ever fellows of a college. The great marking fact of the university, within, was the antagonism of the two church parties—the puritan-calvinistic party in present possession; the arminian-ritualistic rising by aggressive acts and words; S. Mary's pulpit the arena, the sermons the event of the week. The ecclesiastical interest absorbs or overwhelms every other. Outside, the whole institution is regarded by the government as an instrument of party, to be supported, and to be used, against the two oppositions, the catholic, and the puritan. The professors and governors are all clerics, who look for their provision and promotion in the church, from the government and the bishops, and endeavour to qualify themselves for it by writing pamphlets and preaching against popery and puritanism. The university thus shows

itself as an intimate member and organ of the national life; taking its full share in all the party feeling, passion, prejudice, religious sentiment which were current in the English nation, but wholly destitute of any power to vivify, to correct, to instruct, to enlighten.

9.

LONDON.

1610—1614.

On Monday, June 4 (May 24, o. s.), Casaubon, taking Jacob with him, left Oxford, and staying the night with sir Henry Savile at Eton, reached London on Tuesday. He returned to the work over which he was now killing himself, and to cares and vexations [1] 'to which I am now no longer equal,' he writes in August to Heinsius. The [2] 'island of the blessed,' as it had seemed to him at first, began to disclose features common to the rest of the world.

The first cause of discomfort grew out of the work on which he was engaged.

At the end of 1612, he had written out fair a specimen section of his 'Exercitationes,' and sent it to the archbishop for revision or approval. Nor was the archbishop the only person to whom he had shown portions. One friend in particular, whom he will not name [3], had the sheets for correction. This friend, who was perhaps

[1] Ep. 913.

[2] Ep. 703: 'De meo in hanc *μακάρων νῆσον* adventu, puto, audivisti,' to Heinsius, January, 1611.

[3] Eph. 968: 'Chartas meas Baronianas dedi recensendas cuidam amico, viro probo, optimo et longe doctissimo.'

the bishop of Ely, neither returned them, nor yet read them. Casaubon repeatedly asked to have them back; sent Wedderburn to fetch them; in vain. He suspected that they had been lent by the person in question to some one else, and could not be got back. This suspicion was founded upon a fact which had come to light a little before, December 1612. Abraham Scultetus, chaplain to the elector Palatine, who was now residing in London, informed him that a MS. had been received, by a London bookseller, of a critique on Baronius by an english divine. It was going to be published immediately. Scultetus was able to get the sheets for Casaubon's inspection. His surprise may be imagined when he recognised, as he believed, his own plan. The arrangement of the Englishman's book, which, like his own, was in latin, the order of topics, were the same. The same errors of Baronius were corrected, the same passages of authors were cited. He afterwards discovered that the friend whom he had trusted had not betrayed him. The detention of his copy was due solely to delay in reading it over. The friend had read it with care, and returned it with remarks evincing much knowledge[4]. The copy had never been out of his keeping. But other persons had seen portions, and Casaubon had talked unreservedly of the plan and topics of the book on which his whole energy was now expended. Indeed, it was probable that the plagiarist had profited by his talk, rather than by any furtive copy. For on closer inspection, notwithstanding many coincidences, the details of the Englishman's book were found to differ widely from those of Casaubon's, though the plan was stolen. Cas-

[4] Eph. 968: 'Optimi viri . . . integritatem cum summa doctrina perspexi.'

aubon tells de Thou[5] that the english author 'is really learned, but my own footing, as the older student, is perhaps rather firmer.' A more modest self-appreciation was never uttered. For it can scarce be doubted, that we have in a book published in London ten years afterwards, 1622, 'Analecta ecclesiasticarum exercitationum,' the material of the book which Scultetus detected, and brought to Casaubon. We have therefore in our hands the means of comparison. Probably no one will ever care to institute it. Yet it is not uninstructive. It gives us a clear notion of the wide difference between a master of ancient learning, and a clever university-bred scholar, who holds a brief, and can accumulate passages of ancient authors in support of 'a view.'

Casaubon was not long in discovering that the writer of the sheets was Richard Montagu, a young fellow of Eton, who was now on his preferment, and was reading the fathers accordingly. It was quite clear, then, by what hand this stone had been launched. Montagu was a protegé of Savile, who had brought him to Eton to assist him upon the Chrysostom. As Savile thought himself a better man than Scaliger, Montagu was at least a Casaubon. The set were indignant that the foreigner should reap the credit that was to be got by refuting Baronius. The native jealousy was piqued by the expectation with which the public, at home and abroad, were looking for Casaubon's book[6]. They would show that there were learned men in England.

[5] Ep. 848: 'Est ille quidem vir doctus, sed nos annis graves fortius pedem figimus.'

[6] Burney MSS. 366. p. 164. In September, 1613, Scultetus writes from Heidelberg, 'Equidem confirmo tibi a multis annis nullum opus tanta cum aviditate expectatum fuisse, quanta hocce tuum.'

This was the cause they alleged for the secrecy of their manœuvre; the fear 'that those foreigners should steal from the books of Englishmen[7].' The archbishop, however, interfered. It would cause scandal to attempt to forestal a book on which Casaubon had been publicly, nay officially, engaged. He compelled Montagu to suppress his book. In 1622, when Abbot was in disgrace and powerless, and Casaubon had long been dead, Montagu published his materials. He may have become ashamed of his sharp practice, as he asserts in his preface[8], 'that his collection had not been made with any view to publication.' Montagu was a clever and spirited writer, and was ready to answer anybody on any subject. He undertook to 'answer' Selden's 'History of Tithes.' He wrote so well that the high church party, and Anthony Wood, thought[9] he had demolished Selden, to whom he stood in the relation in which Boyle did to Bentley. But if Montagu, in 1622, was ashamed of his baffled trick, he was not the less bitter against Casaubon. The 'Analecta' affect to defend Casaubon against his later critics, Rosweyd and Bulenger. Under the cloak of deference to the 'vir doctissimus,' we find a running fire of carping correction of Casaubon's 'Exercitationes' maintained. The animus of the Savilian circle is still there, though Casaubon has been dead eight years. Indeed, Savile himself can

[7] Ep. 848: 'Ne isti peregrini ex Anglorum scriptis proficiant, hæc fuere verba magni cujusdam viri (i. e. Savile).'

[8] Præf. in Analecta: 'Non in illum finem ut in vulgus aliquando et hominum conspectum emanarent.'

[9] A. W. Athenæ Oxon. 3. 370: 'He (Selden) was so effectually answered by Tillesley of Oxon, Richard Montagu and Stephen Nettles of Cambridge, that he never came off in any of his undertakings with more loss of credit.'

hardly speak of Casaubon with patience. In a letter to sir Dudley Carleton[10] undated, but after Casaubon's death, he writes, 'Among your advertisements from Mr. Stade, for all reall defalts in the copyes, he may supply them out of another copy there, and upon knowledge had what they are, they shal be supplyed from here (for a small tear in a leafe, hee is too nice). The "Thesaurus" he mentions, Mr. Casaubon tooke that worke out of my handes above two yeares before his death. To whom, as best able to performe it, both for his learning and experience that way, and for his ability of body, I yeelded, and so from him hee must fetch it, I feare, yf hee will have it.' When the reader comes presently to the physician's account of Casaubon's wasted appearance for some years before his death, he will be able to appreciate the cruel sarcasm of the words 'for his ability of body.'

Nor was the jealousy of the scholars whose reputation was thrown into the shade by Casaubon's presence in England, the only source of ill will. He began, after a time, to meet with cold looks in the social circle even from those whom he had best right to think his friends. 'I cannot make out these English;' he writes to de Thou in November 1612, 'those of them with whom I was acquainted before my coming over, seem now not to know me. Not one of them ever speaks to me, or even answers if I speak to him. The reason of it is a mystery to me[11].' Hallam, commenting on this passage[12], supposes Casaubon 'to have become generally unpopular.' But

[10] State paper office, Domestic, James I, vol. 92. no. 95.

[11] Ep. 241: 'Nemo illorum me vel verbulo appellat, appellatus silet. Hoc quid rei sit, non scio.'

[12] Hist. of Lit. 2. 311, n.

this was by no means the case. With the king he continued to the last as much a favourite as at the beginning. He was sent for as often, and detained as long in talk, which sometimes became very confidential. One of the most notable instances in the diary occurs as late as June 1, 1614, little more than a fortnight before his death; when he records: 'Whitsunday; but had to go to the king, from whom I heard things which surprised me much, which His Majesty communicated to me in private[13]. I am reminded of Juvenal's "Ad generum Cereris," etc., and the sicilian vespers, but these things must be kept a dead secret.' The explanation of the mystery is to be found in Hoskyns' speech in the House of Commons a few days before[14], in which he said, as reported by Chamberlain; 'Hoskyns, forsooth, must have his oar in the boat, and tell them that wise princes put away strangers, as Canute, when he meant to plant himself here, sent back his Danes, and the Palsgrave had lately dismissed all the English that were about the lady Elizabeth, and withal, to what purpose he knew best, put them in mind of Vesperæ Sicilianæ.' The bishops continued throughout no less friendly. He was as much visited and invited as he desired—nay more than suited with his intense passion for work. He is frequently receiving substantial presents from them, at other times besides Christmas. In May 1612, the bishop of London, King, sends Madame Casaubon 'a little remembrance,' with an apology for not having called during his being in London, and adding a hope that he will 'pay him a

[13] Eph. p. 1063: 'A quo mira didici quæ mihi κατ' ἰδίαν Rex serenissimus et optimus narravit. meminero versus illius,' etc.

[14] Chamberlain to Carleton, ap. Birch, I. 321.

visit at Fulham[15], four miles beyond Westminster.' In November of the same year, the king and the archbishop were godfathers, by proxy, to his english son, James. The bishops of Bath (Montagu), and Lichfield (Overall), and lady Carew, were present. Morton, dean of Winchester, sends him presents, invites him to dine (April 1613), and in the words of Morton's biographer[16], 'this love thus begun between Morton and Casaubon was never intermitted in their lives, nor obliterated by death.'

In the very letter[17] in which Casaubon makes this complaint of the English, he speaks of visiting Camden; of sir Robert Cotton 'the best of men, a candid soul, a true nobleman' (vir optimus, candidissimus, et vere nobilissimus), with whom he has often talked of de Thou's 'History.' Yet we have seen[18] that he did not make friends among the antiquarians, or the wits. He was less likely to make them among the courtiers. If any *class* of persons be meant in his words to de Thou, it must be the place-hunters who infested James' court. He was much thrown in their way, and they must have envied his frequent closetings with James, opportunities which they would have known how to turn to account. Unable to speak english, his intercourse was necessarily confined to those who were willing to communicate with him in french or latin; french, which the average Englishman speaks indifferently and reluctantly; latin, in which the painful effort to follow Casaubon's foreign pronunciation was naturally

[15] Burney MSS. 364. p. 367.

[16] Barwick, Life of Bp. Moreton, p. 72.

[17] Ep. 841.

[18] See above, p. 325.

shirked. Disinclination to talk to the solemn calvinist, whose dress and manners bore the obnoxious stamp of Geneva, would be strongest among the fashionable set, the waiters on providence, with which the court of James I. was more than ordinarily beset. The preferment hunter is always discontented, having no self-respect, he has no appreciation. One of the most conspicuous of this class was one whom Casaubon might have with reason expected to befriend him. And it is probable that though Casaubon makes his complaint a general one, by the plural phrase [19] 'all those I have known before,' he intends a single individual, whose behaviour particularly mortified him.

It will be remembered that sir Henry Wotton, when at Geneva in 1592, had lodged in Casaubon's house[20], 'to his very great contentment.' Their friendship, thus begun, survived Wotton's remissness in his money transactions, which had given Casaubon so much trouble. Since then they had corresponded, and in most affectionate terms, for some years. In 1601, Wotton undertakes to write every week from Florence, and in greek, for which Casaubon had inspired him with an enthusiasm[21]. He would dedicate to Isaac Casaubon one of the many books which he was always going to write, and never did write. June 20, 1602, he is back at Florence after a long absence in Germany[22]. 'He recalls, and would fain ask heaven to give

[19] Ep. 841: 'Quoscunque habui notos.'

[20] See above, p. 44.

[21] Burney MSS. 366: 'Te prælucente versabor inter incorrupti ævi auctores.'

[22] Burney MSS. 367. p. 75: 'Sæpe repeto illos dies et reposco in quibus, ut tuis verbis utar, solem una condebamus.' This letter is not signed, and is ascribed in the catalogue of Burney MSS. though with a

him again, those days in which they watched the setting sun together.' His book, which he is going to write, is 'On Fate,' and is to be in greek, and to be dedicated to Casaubon. Nothing delays its publication, but the expectation, which has been raised by a certain friend at Venice, of having a complete Hierocles 'On Fore-knowledge and Necessity.' He knows the excerpts in Photius, but 'in a matter of such importance he is not satisfied with extracts.' Casaubon[23] replies in the same tender tone, 'Ah! what days those were! when heedless of the lateness of the hour we passed whole nights in lettered talk! I hanging on your stories of all you had seen of many men and many lands; you pleased to hear somewhat of my desultory readings! Oh! that was life worth living! pure happiness! I cannot recall those times without groaning in spirit.'

So wrote Casaubon in 1602. Wotton forgot his promise of the weekly greek letter, and did not write the book[24]. Before he left Italy a change had come over his sentiments towards Casaubon. In 1610 he writes to Hoeschel at Augsburg[25], expressing himself as disgusted with the courtly strain of compliment in the preface to the Polybius[26]. In February, 1611,

?, to Campanella. It is in sir H. Wotton's hand, and is his reply to Cas. ep. 1021. Casaubon's reply to Wotton, at Florence, is Cas. ep. 292, dat. Lutet. 12 kal. Sext. 1602.

[23] Ep. 292.

[24] Hannah, Poems of Wotton and Raleigh, p. xiv: 'Though he sometimes amused himself with looking after printers, he seldom committed anything to press.'

[25] Heumann, Pœcile, 1. 582: 'O quam multis displicet illa nuncupatoria epistola! quæ profecto non critici est sed aulici.'

[26] Chamberlain writes, March 3, 1614, Birch, 1. 301: 'Touching the Fabricians, it skills not what they say or write, for they stand but

Wotton returned from Venice. Casaubon expected to welcome a friend. But he was disappointed. Sir Henry, a younger son, with no patrimony and expensive tastes, had commenced the career of place-hunting, and was now too fine a gentleman to be seen talking with an old pedant. Signor Fabritio (Wotton's nickname) swaggered it about the king [27] 'with his pictures and projects,' but was not at home to Casaubon, who became shy of paying visits which were evidently unacceptable. At the request of de Thou, however, Casaubon wrote to Wotton to ask for a memoir on the Venetian quarrel which Fra Paolo had entrusted to Wotton for de Thou's special use in his 'History.' Wotton vouchsafed no answer. After repeated applications, he at last said [28] 'that he was writing on the subject himself, and should retain the memoir for his own use.'

Casaubon himself writes indeed in one place [29], as if the bishops of Ely and Lichfield, Andrewes and Overall, were his 'only english friends.' But this must be understood of close and constant intimacy. For it is evident that Morton, Barclay, and others whose names occur in our narrative, were attached to him. And intimacy is of slow growth for a man of fifty, who is also a close student. Of acquaintance less than intimate, he had, as the diary testifies, more rather than less than we should have expected from a man of his habits, who could not speak the language of the country. It was true that he had taken his side with a party, and he

aloof, and are of the most that know least; and surely their employments go but slowly forward, and is more but an even wager whether either of them for all their forwardness, shall enjoy the place they pretend.' [27] Chamberlain to Carleton, Aug. 11, 1612.

[28] Camdeni Epp. p. 139. [29] Eph. p. 916.

had to take the consequences of his position. In this respect emigration had been a change for the worse. In Paris he had belonged to the downtrodden party of the huguenots, whose lives were held on sufferance from the street mob. But he had enjoyed the exceptional encouragement and protection of the court. In coming to England he attached himself to the dominant party. But government, even in the time of James I, was government by a party. Those who shared its favours had to share also its unpopularity. Coming over to this country at the invitation of the king and the bishops, Casaubon might imagine at first that he was the adopted guest of the nation. He found himself only the favourite of the church party. The zeal of the puritans saw in Casaubon, whose books they could not read, only the champion of prelacy, the deserter from the calvinistic camp. The wits of the Mermaid were jealous of the foreign pensioner, and the 'prentices thought it meritorious to 'eave 'alf a brick at the Frenchman! His windows were more than once broken by stones. He appealed, not to the city authorities, but to the archbishop, for protection. He had lived, he said, twelve years in Paris, in the most bigoted quarter of the city, close to the cordeliers, and other furious enemies of his church, without molestation. Now the streets were not safe to him[30], he was pursued with abuse, or with stones, his children were beaten. On one occasion he appeared himself at Theobald's with a black eye. Some ruffian had hit him a blow with his fist, probably while the coach in which he was driving, was progressing slowly through the narrow and crowded streets of the city. The blow was so violent a shock

[30] Ep. 1056: 'Liberi sæpe pulsati; probra sæpe in nos conjecta; lapidibus quotidie fere incessimur.'

to his emaciated frame, that at first he thought he had lost his right eye[31].' The burglary committed in his house on the night of March 1, 1614, appeared to Casaubon a part of the system of annoyance, but is only an instance of the general insecurity, and want of police in the London of that day.

Hallam suggests that these outrages proceeded from 'the popish party,' a suggestion still more unfortunate than that lately mentioned[32]. The London street bullies were not likely to have heard of his learned letters against the jesuits. Had the catholics ventured to assault Casaubon, he would have been immediately taken under the protection of the 'prentices, who were violent 'no-popery' boys. Only a few years later, 1618, the sacred person of the spanish ambassador was hardly saved from their violence[33]. If any religious party instigated the assailants in Casaubon's case, they were undoubtedly the puritans. But there is no evidence of religious antipathy against Casaubon, whose arminian leanings were known only to a few. Nor are we to think, in 1614, of those terrors of the night, the Hectors, the Muns, or the Tityre Tus, a later form of ruffianism. It is probable that it was simply as a foreigner that he was obnoxious. The worst attack was in June 1612, at the moment when the animosity of the London mob against the Scotch was at its height, so that the Scottishmen were 'bodily afraid,' and 300 of them passed through Ware, on their road northwards, within 10 days[34]. From Elisabeth's reign onwards we hear of continual

[31] Eph. 936: 'Oculum dextrum pene amisimus, icti a nebulone quodam pugno, cum in rheda veheremur . . . sine ulla plane causa.'

[32] Above, note 12.

[33] Chamberlain to Carleton, Aug. 15, 1618, ap. Birch.

[34] Nicholls, Progr. 2. 449.

conspiracies of the Londoners against the French and Flemings who, driven to emigrate by religious persecution, settled in London and 'ruined english trade[36].' The british workman awkward, and indocile then as now, could not compete with the superior intelligence and thrift of the French. There were 10000 foreigners in London alone in 1621. And trade rivalry apart, when is the time that a Frenchman has not been fair game in the streets of London? In 1584, Giordano Bruno[37] suffered at the hands of the London cockneys similar insults, and says, 'They thought when they had called you "foreigner," they had established your title to receive any kind of ill usage.' Nor was the old brutality subdued in the following century, when John Bull still thought it becoming to express his contempt for a Frenchman to his face[38]. Milton was doubtless drawing from his own London experience, when he described[39] 'The sons Of Belial, flown with insolence and wine,' wandering forth at night-fall to riot, injury and outrage.

Friends, and kind ones, were not wanting to compensate him for these annoyances of London. His house, indeed, was no longer the rendezvous of callers or of gossips, as it had been in Paris; but by this he

[36] See Stowe's London, 2. 205, etc. Cooper, Lists of Foreign protestants, p. iv.

[37] Cena della cenere, vol. 1. p. 146: 'Una plebe irrispettevole, incivile, rozza, rustica, selvatica, e male allevata . . . che conoscendoti forastiero, ti ghignano . . . ti chiamano cane, traditore, staniero, e questo a presso loro è un titulo ingiuriosissimo, e che rende il supposito capace a ricevere tutti i torti del mondo.'

[38] E. g. the Thames' wherryman, who told Voltaire, Œuvres, 29. 393: 'Qu'il aimoit mieux être batelier sur la Tamise qu'archevêque en France.'

[39] P. L. 1. 498.

was the gainer. One source of expenditure of time was thus cut off, by his ignorance of the language. In other ways the want of english was felt by him as a severe trial. He was cut off from knowledge of the events of the day; he was only half at home in the english church. He had begun, in 1609, at Grigny, to take lessons in english, chiefly that he might read Rainolds' books, and those of other anglican writers[40]. His progress, at first, had delighted him. But the lessons were dropt from want of leisure. Of sermons, he could gather their general drift, no more. An english book he could make a shift to look over. But when he has to use Garnett's confessions for his pamphlet[41], he must have them translated into latin for him[42]. But he could not understand what was said to him, and as for speaking english himself, he thought himself too old to begin to learn[43]. 'An old man at his A B C is an object of just contempt.' What he suffered in consequence from english servants and London tradesmen may be imagined. Madame Casaubon had not even got as far as her husband. 'Don't be anxious about your wife,' Savile had written to him in February, 1611[44], 'she is a woman, and will learn more english in three days than you will in as many centuries.' But she did not try. She hated the country

[40] Eph. 693: 'Quod sciebam Rainoldum et alios summos theologos in ea lingua multa exquisita scripsisse.'

[41] See above, p. 401.

[42] Eph. p. 845: 'Eæ, quum sint scriptæ anglice, danda mihi opera est, ut aliena opera adjutus, ipsas perlegam et intelligam.' His own notes from these papers are in latin. Advers. 25. p. 65.

[43] Ep. 704: 'Turpis profecto res est senex elementarius.'

[44] Burney MSS. 366. p. 52: 'De uxore noli solicitus esse; ipsa, ut est ingenium mulierum, unico triduo plus discet in lingua nostra, quam tu tribus seculis.'

and abominated the climate. In the event of settling in England they had relied upon Philippa, who had acquired the language in attendance on lady Carew. Madame Casaubon could not get on with english servants, yet upon her Isaac was entirely dependent for the conduct of the household, and in her absence was liable to be terribly imposed upon. When he had been three years in the country he had not yet learnt to distinguish the names or value of the english coins. He once gave[45] a jacobus by mistake to a needy compatriot who was preying on his simplicity and had asked the loan of an angel. When he had to keep the household accounts, he was astonished at the amount of the outgoings[46]. The cost of a new suit to appear at court in seemed to him ruinous. The postage of letters[47] to a man who receives so many, and to whom authors send their books, is a heavy tax. His own books must be presented to various great persons, as to the king, and then they must be bound. Books published abroad were very costly in London[48]. Books, too, must be had for his own use, and must be paid for in cash, except to Norton, the king's wealthy publisher, who would give credit. In May, 1611, he was at the bottom of his purse, and resolved, till his wife's return, to spend no more on books, with a caveat, however, which a book-buyer will appreciate, [49] 'unless I should meet

[45] Eph. p. 1007.

[46] Eph. p. 993: 'Non solitus administrare pecuniam, cum video impensas hujus domus obstupefio.' Eph. p. 996: 'Rationes cum multis composui, et miror impensas hujus domus.'

[47] Ep. 757: 'Immani pretio redimendus fuit ille mihi fasciculus.'

[48] Eph. p. 812: 'Regi . . . dedi e meis libris quos hic potui reperire etsi auro contra caros . . . omnes magnifice compactos.'

[49] Eph. p. 838: 'Excepto si quid occurrat rarius.'

with something very scarce.' By August, the account at Bill's—Norton's successor—had grown to 300 livres, a sum which he groaned over, but made shift to pay. During Madame Casaubon's long absence in 1613, the administration was an interim. The household got on anyhow. [51]'My affairs are in deplorable confusion, but all will be set right when my wife returns.'

It is somewhat perplexing to find Casaubon, after his settlement in England, as much hampered by pecuniary cares as ever. At one time he says, 'that in London he wanted everything but money, and of that for the first time in his life he had no lack.' This may have been a moment when he found his purse full. For the general tone of the diary is that of distress. [52]'I am overwhelmed with cares, business, expenses.' He seems to have been at last driven to such straits, that it was requisite to make an application to the king for relief[53]. Some vague promise was made him[54]. But a little later, when it became apparent that his health was failing, a renewed promise of further help was sent him by the king[55]. This was not till May 1614, a month before his final illness.

[51] Eph. p. 998: 'Omnia mea susque deque; restituentur in suum locum si uxor venerit.' Cf. eph. p. 988: 'Vides, bone deus, dissipationem hujus domus.'

[52] Eph. p. 997: 'Obruor sumtibus, negotiis, curis.'

[53] Eph. 1046: 'Ne meas ipse mihi spes præciderim scribens ad regem serenissimum, quem alioquin scio esse mei non mediocriter amantem.'

[54] Eph. p. 1051: 'Ab episcopo Bathoniensi audivi quam nihil insit solidi spei nuper excitatæ.'

[55] Eph. p. 1056: 'Hodie venit ad me D. Bathoniensis jussu regis ut de rebus meis meliora in posterum polliceretur.'

We must suppose that the necessity was urgent before he could bring himself to beg. He had long avoided doing so. But he did not escape the sarcasms of the jesuit pamphleteers on this head. That Casaubon was gone to England to make money out of the british Crœsus was too obvious an imputation to be neglected[56]. When these gibes were mentioned to James he said to Casaubon, 'Since your coming, you never once asked me for anything; you know you would have got it, if you had.' These insinuations of the jesuits were indeed but the echo of the gossip of the english court. Carleton writes[57]:—

'I was the other day with the bishop of Ely, and among other talk lighted upon Casaubon, who, it seems, is scant contented with his entertainment of £300 a year, being promised greater matters by the late archbishop, who bestowed a prebend upon him at Canterbury, which he valued at six score pounds a year, and falls out not worth the fourth part. But his greatest emulation or envy is at Turquet's preferment, who hath £400 pension of the king, £400 of the queen, with a house provided him, and many other commodities, which he reckons at £1400 a year.'

This gossip may not be accurate as to the figures, but, while it shows the ill-will of the courtiers towards the pensioner, it points to what was certainly a fact, that Casaubon's money difficulties were the talk of the court. As to the value of the stall at Canterbury, we learn, from Carier's report to Casaubon[58], that it amounted, including the rent of the prebendal house,

[56] See Eudæmon-Joannes, Responsio ad epist. pp. 160. 163, and passim.

[57] Birch, Court and Times of James I, 1. 149.

[58] Burney MSS. 363. ap. Russell, p. 1185.

to £100 for the first year. This, with the £300 a year from the crown, and the french pension, which continued to be paid to the last, was an income which, we should think, ought to have raised Casaubon above want, if not placed him in easy circumstances. But, it would seem that with the increase of his means, the drain upon them increased. His pervert son, who remained behind in Paris, was dependent upon him. His nephew, Isaac Chabanes, though he had been taken into the service of the dutch ambassador[59], had to be occasionally assisted. He supported his sister Anna, who took what he could give, and abused him for not giving more. Meric was at Eton, and though on the foundation, must have cost something. For the younger children he had a tutor in the house, James Wedderburn, a tutor who was modest enough to confess that the salary which Casaubon gave him was more than he ought to have, relatively either to his own merits or to Casaubon's means[60]. Besides these, Madame Casaubon had her relations, whom she had fetched from Geneva and Lyons to live either in the house, or dependent upon it; [61] 'As if,' he says, 'I was a prince and could maintain whole families besides my own.' These were outlets for money, which occasional presents from king or bishops would go but little way to meet. And there are repeated allusions to losses he was sustaining in France, probably of his wife's

[59] Bibl. nat. coll. Dupuy, 708. p. 86; cf. Cas. ep. 902, and Is. Chabanes to Cas. Burney Mss. 367. p. 8.

[60] Burney Mss. 366. ap. Russell: 'Salarium mihi a te constitutum est, majus quidem illud, quam ut ei fortunæ tuæ vel merita mea respondeant.'

[61] Eph. p. 1000: 'Quasi ego regulus essem aliquis, et possem integras familias alienas alere.'

property. The circumstances are not explained: but it was to see after this business that Madame Casaubon returned to France in 1613. She cannot have been altogether unsuccessful, as we hear of a bill of exchange for 2300 livres, coming over, with which, in her absence, Casaubon did not know how to deal. Thus, though his income was more than doubled, pecuniary anxiety weighed on his mind as heavily as it had done in Paris. July 28, 1612, he enters, 'A day of sadness and vexation. I had my time free for study, but I made no way, my mind being distracted with divers cares.' In 1613–14, while engaged on Baronius, it is the same cry of distress. November 14, 1613, 'O wretched house this! not a single day passes without heavy grief of both of us, my wife and myself, from the cause which thou, O God, knowest!.' In several places of the diary where this secret cause of grief is touched upon, some later hand, probably Meric's, has erased the material words[62]. It is only a conjecture that this unexplained sorrow is the pressure of pecuniary want which in other places is spoken of without disguise.

While thus suffering from straitened means, he had to hear the taunts of the catholic party writers, that he had sold his conscience for english gold.

Till his removal to England, Casaubon had enjoyed almost entire immunity from the party pamphleteers. This exemption, when every other less conspicuous huguenot man of letters was being bespattered with dirt, was due to the full expectation, which was all

[62] See e. g. Eph. p. 1027: 'Omnium quæ hoc anno præter animi sententiam nobis acciderunt est longe maximum malum [an erasure] tibi, Deus æterne, notum . . . durat enim, durat, et nunc quam angit me et uxorem meam tristissima illa cura et dirissima sollicitudo.'

along entertained, of his becoming one of theirs at last. But when he took service under the king of England, this hope was necessarily abandoned. The prohibition was taken off, and Casaubon's troubles were aggravated by a new one, till now unknown. And when he himself became a pamphleteer, and lowered himself to answer Emmanuel Sa and the 'Amphitheatrum,' he ought to have been prepared to take the inevitable consequence. His 'Epistle to Fronto' was published in October 1611. It was not likely that such a challenge should not be taken up. The most conspicuous protestant writer of the day was here stating the case of the most powerful—of the only considerable—protestant sovereign. The sectarian interest was stimulated by personal animosity in the recollection that this champion of the king of England had come so close to them, and yet had drawn off from them. The 'spretæ injuria formæ' was all the more galling, because the wooing had been long and passionate.

A concentrated fire was ordered to be directed upon his position. The principal assailants were Eudæmon-Joannes and Rosweyd, two jesuits, the Louvain professor Erycius Puteanus, Bulenger, and the notorious Scioppius. The incisive pen of Scioppius made him the most telling and feared libeller of the day. But no party could trust him, and the authorised 'answerer' of the jesuits was now Eudæmon-Joannes, or L'Heureux. Of this voluminous pamphleteer I can find no authentic account. Dr. Abbot, the regius professor of Oxford, had been told that he was Fisher, the english jesuit[63]. But this was only a guess, and a wrong one. L'Heureux's own account was that he was a native of Crete,

[63] Antilogia, ep. ad lectorem.

educated in Italy, and that his family name was Eudæmon-Joannes[64]. However this may be, his pamphlet against Casaubon[65] shows an acquaintance with english affairs, and London gossip, which can only be explained by the excellence of the secret intelligence which the jesuits knew how to secure. His style, not so trenchant as Scioppius', is yet forcible, and his management of his topics adroit. He has the great advantage over his adversary, that, though he writes in his own name, he is covered by the corporate interest of the society of Jesus, and has the sympathy of the great catholic party. In this point of view it is noticeable that though Eudæmon-Joannes does not venture openly to avow the gunpowder-plotters, he makes it evident that the party secretly approved them. The gunpowder-treason wanted but success to have been inscribed, like the S. Bartholomew, on the banners of the catholic church.

Two points in the 'Responsio ad epistolam Is. Casauboni,' may be selected for notice as illustrating this life, and the history of letters.

1. The jesuit assumes the tone of superior learning. Eudæmon-Joannes, notwithstanding his Cretan birth, knew hardly anything of greek[66]. He says himself[67], that greek books were so scarce in Italy that 'we are obliged to use latin translations.' He has nothing that can be called learning, and no acquirements, as his

[64] Confutatio Anticottoni, p. 106; Respons. ad ep. Is. Cas. p. 99: 'Me a puero a præstantissimis viris Orlandino, Tursellino, Valtrino, Bencio institutum.

[65] See above, p. 410.

[66] Cas. ep. ad Front. p. 150: 'Græcæ linguæ esse imperitissimum, quæ legi illius mihi dudum persuaserunt.'

[67] Cappell. Vindiciæ, p. 30.

numerous pamphlets testify, beyond those of a well-trained academical man. Yet he can assume, towards the most learned man then living, the airs of supercilious patronage. This fact is evidence of the high reputation which the jesuit training, both in their colleges and in their professed houses, had by this time attained. Because Casaubon has not gone through the curriculum of their colleges, he can be spoken of as 'imperfectly educated[68].' The first greek scholar of the day can be told by a writer who can barely read the letters, that he is 'not only not in the second, but barely in the third class[69].' This prestige of their training they transferred to controversy, and every puny jesuit adopted the language of contempt for his opponent's learning. So Knott, in 1634[70], scorned at the ignorance of the english clergy; and Scioppius, in 1615[71], said, that 'if James were richer than the Pici who dwell on the golden mountains, he will not be able to get together twenty learned men in England,' in allusion to the Chelsea college scheme.

In their assault upon Casaubon's credit, this arrogancy of the guild stood the jesuits in good stead. It was moreover combined with the ordinary professional jealousy. The clerical writers affected to treat Casaubon as a scholar who had presumed to encroach upon a profession to which he was not bred. Because he

[68] Respons. ad ep. Is. Cas. p. 51: 'Hæc homo disciplinarum expers non satis dijudicat.' Ibid. p. 7: 'Imperitum grammaticum.' Ibid. p. 14: 'Rusticum dialecticæ.' Ibid. p. 25: 'Qui ultra Suetonium et Lampridium psittaci more loquitur.'

[69] Respons. ad ep. p. 179: 'Græcæ linguæ, cujus te deum facis, viri præstantissimi in scriptis tuis ita exiguam cognitionem deprehenderunt, ut te ne in secundis quidem, vix etiam in tertiis numerent.'

[70] As quoted by Chillingworth, Relig. of Protest, Works, I. 46.

[71] Holofernes Krigsæderus, quoted by Nisard, Les Gladiateurs.

had read the classics forsooth! he thought himself qualified to dabble in the high mysteries of theology! The reciprocal jealousy of professions dates from the existence of professions, and is not confined to the clerical order. So the lawyers sneered at Saumaise when he wrote on usury. But in the present instance, in the 17th century controversy, a momentous fallacy was involved in the assumption that philology was one science, and theology another. Casaubon's reply to the jesuit taunt was that he had always, from his youth, been a student of theology. He ought to have replied in the memorable words of Scaliger[72], 'Our theological disputes all arise from ignorance of grammar.' It was a question of interpretation—and of the interpretation of books, greek and latin, written at given dates. In the controversy on the claims of the roman church, the appeal was an appeal to antiquity; and of the meaning of antiquity, the scholars are the judges. From the jesuits the Savile party borrowed the taunt, and Montagu is perpetually regretting that Casaubon was not 'more of the divine.'

2. The other point to be noticed in Eudæmon-Joannes is the dexterity with which the jesuit controversialist intermingles his personalities. The object being to destroy the effect of Casaubon's book, this object is more effectually served by discrediting the writer, than by answering his arguments. The general reader is more attracted by personalities than by reasoning. Every topic is produced which could lower Casaubon in the eyes of the reader; and the insinuations and suggestions are not made at random, but are founded on fact, and have the local colouring. The history

[72] Scaligerana 1ª. p. 86: 'Non aliunde dissidia in religione pendent, quam ab ignoratione grammaticæ.'

of Casaubon's mind was well enough known to the jesuits, to know, that, in his ultimate decision against the roman claims, he had been decided by the preponderance of evidence as it presented itself to him. But the circumstances of his life made the charge of venality plausible, and they urge it unceasingly. He has sold his conscience to the king of England. At his age, drawing towards the close of a blameless life, he has parted with his integrity to purchase the short-lived favour of a fickle court, and to bear the indignant murmurs of the home-born Englishmen at finding a foreign grammarian, a corrector from Stephens' press, preferred before them[73]. The fleshpots of Egypt, the 'nidor Anglicanæ culinæ,' were surely hardly worth the price Casaubon had paid for them!

Kind friends took care that Casaubon should see what was thus being said of him. Lingelsheim sent him part of the sheets from Heidelberg before the book was out. Swert sent the book itself from Antwerp, and a third copy was given him by[74] 'a great man.' Casaubon was neither curious nor sensitive about what was written of himself, and on glancing over the sheets of Eudæmon-Joannes' effusion, it seemed to him so trivial[75] that he threw it aside, without reading it through. His glance must have been very cursory, for quick and observant reader as he was, he had not noticed the allusions,—three at least—to the rope. Prideaux pointed these out to him at Oxford[76]. Isaac, indifferent to abuse of himself, could not bear a word breathed against the memory of his father. He now became urgent that the book should be answered[77]. It was decided by the

[73] Scaligerana 1ª. p. 178.

[74] Ep. 875.

[75] Eph. 966: 'Librum futilem sane.'

[76] See above, p. 410.

[77] Ep. 871.

king and the bishops that Casaubon should not waste any more time on controversy. He should give himself, without interruption, to the review of Baronius, and the rector of Exeter should answer 'the Cretan[78].' Prideaux did this in a smart pamphlet, 'Castigatio cujusdam circulatoris qui . . . Eudæmon-Johannem . . . seipsum nuncupat, Oxon. 1614.' This rejoinder goes through every topic, almost through every paragraph, of the 'Responsio ad epistolam Is. Casauboni,' retorting it on the respondent in the style of Andrewes, but hardly with Andrewes' wit. The allusions to the 'rope' were left to Casaubon himself to answer. This he did in a long digression inserted in the 'Exercitationes Baronianæ.' It is that narrative from which our knowledge of Arnold Casaubon's life and death, and of Isaac's childhood is derived. Prideaux also printed the interesting paragraph at length at the end of his own pamphlet. Few copies of Prideaux's pamphlet survive, a proof of its small circulation at the time. But the incorporation of the autobiographical fragment in the 'Exercitationes' made it widely known on the continent; and its touching sincerity has naturally attracted the attention of all those who have written of Isaac Casaubon.

L'Heureux, however, was decent and rational compared to the next assailant. Encouraged by the success of his libel on Scaliger, Scioppius now attacked Casaubon with the same weapon—prodigious lying.

The pamphlet against Casaubon comes about midway in the series of Scioppian libels, a series, which in its extent, its savage licence, its ingenuity, and audacity of fiction has not its equal in extant literature. Having scarified the king of England sufficiently in the Ecclesias-

[78] Ep. 857: 'Non vult serenissimus rex ut ego vel horulam unam ponam in nœniis illis confutandis.'

ticus, 1611, and the Alexipharmacum, 1612, Scioppius gave out that he was next going to fall upon the king of England's dog. It was part of his tactic to designate his victim, and thus enhance the sting by the torture of suspense. The 'Holofernes Krigsæderus . . responsio ad epistolam Is. Cazobauni' was published at Ingoldstadt, 1615, but it was written at Madrid more than a year before. Frensied by vanity, spite, and disappointed ambition, Scioppius had gone to Madrid in search of notoriety, and of the reward of his catholic zeal, which was incessantly promised, and never received, at Rome. As Casaubon died in July, 1614, he would never have seen the 'Holofernes,' had not Digby, english ambassador in Spain, transmitted to his court a MS. copy—'stolen' said Scioppius, but, no doubt, by his own contrivance. The allegations of this libel are equally atrocious, and equally unfounded with the 'Scaliger hypobolimæus,' but they are not equally well aimed. As long as he is rallying Casaubon on his situation as archpædagogue to the king of England, when he is portraying Isaac Casaubon flaunting it in surplice and hood, playing at prelacy, he is piquant, and at least within the bounds of probability. But when he goes on to charge upon Casaubon swindling, lechery, adultery and unnatural crime, and in support of these accusations to tell detailed stories which are pure inventions of Scioppius' malignant imagination, the libel has overshot its mark, and becomes flat stupidity.

The character of Casaubon was too well-established and too widely known for any of this dirt to be credited outside the convents and the jesuit colleges. Casaubon had not, like Scaliger, created by criticism a host of enemies. Scioppius, indeed, used to boast that he had killed Casaubon, as he had killed Sca-

liger[79]. But we find from the diary that these horrible calumnies did not affect him seriously. Even the more plausible insinuations of Eudæmon-Joannes gave him, except so far as his father was touched, little concern[80]. The suggestion which came most home to him was that he had been bought by the king of England. This was a suggestion exactly calculated for the english mind, and it took. The 'purse of the english king,' 'the scent of the anglican kitchen,' were the stock phrases. Still these were political or religious opponents, or the native party jealous of foreign pensioners, whether french or scotch. It gave him deeper pain when he heard that Schott had said of him that 'he had sold his conscience for gold[81].'

Andreas Schottus deserves a niche in the history of learning on more than one account. His name is connected with the discovery of the 'monumentum Ancyranum,' and he was the first editor of Diogenianus, a task for which his knowledge of greek, however, was insufficient. His insufficiency is almost excused by his modesty. His love of classical learning was genuine, and what Scaliger said of Marc Welser might be applied to Schott, that 'it was only his religion which prevented him from knowing a great deal[82].' Schott was a native of Antwerp, attracted, when young, into the society of Jesus,

[79] Grævius, Præfat. in Eremitam, De vita aulica; Meric, Pietas, p. 76.

[80] Ep. 880 to Lingelsheim: 'Noli putare aliquid molestiæ ex illo fatuo libro me cepisse.'

[81] Ep. 876.

[82] Scaligerana 2ª. p. 204: 'Velserum superstitio multa scire, et plura quam scit, præpedit.'

by the hope of finding in it the means of satisfying his love of reading. He was soon undeceived, and had to spend the best years of his life regenting classes in their various colleges in Spain and Italy. Forty years of this mechanical routine destroyed his mind, and broke his will, but he preserved his tastes. In 1597 he returned to the college of the society in Antwerp, and was settled there for the remainder of his life. At seventy-seven, his age when he died (1629), he was still teaching the rudiments, but he had been released from the worst drudgery, and for many years was chiefly engaged in translations, editions, or collections of classical and patristic remains. Under the pressure of the infirmities of old age, especially that of failing eyesight, neither his interest nor his industry were abated. His love of letters, and the fact that as a young man he had been received into the Scaliger circle in Paris, led to his correspondence with Casaubon as early as 1602. It was not approved among spiritual martinets, that a jesuit should hold any intercourse with heretics. Even father Schott, 'who often wrote to our people[83],' in writing to Voss (G. J.) abstained from signing his name at the end of his letter, and subscribes himself[84] 'the darkling who translated Photius.' He sends Casaubon his books; his 'Tullianæ quæstiones' in 1610, his 'Adagia græca' in 1611, with the request that he would not spare criticism upon them[85]. Casaubon responds.

[83] Colomiés, Mélange curieux, p. 833: 'Ecrivoit souvent à nos gens.' Colomiés, in this memorandum, is in error in assigning 1636 as the date of Schott's death.

[84] Ibid.: 'Tenebrio, qui Photium dedit latine.' *Tenebrio* may be an allusion to his blindness, or to his retired life.

[85] Pietas, p. 108: 'Quo plura obelo fodies . . . tanto me tibi cariorem existimabo.'

They are on the footing of 'mi Schotte,' and 'mi Casaubone,' though they have never seen each other. There was that in the gentle virtue of the jesuit which suited with Casaubon's own disposition[86]. 'When as a young man I first read your books, I conceived from them an esteem for your character, which has been confirmed by what others have since told me of you.'

When, in 1611, Casaubon published his 'Letter to Fronto,' he had occasion to speak of the 'Amphitheatrum,' and he did so with the reprobation with which all good men spoke of it. Now Schott was not only a jesuit, but was a member of the very house at Antwerp presided over by the author of the 'Amphitheatrum,' Scribanius. Schott remonstrated with Casaubon, reminding him that the 'Amphitheatrum,' though mentioning his name[87], had abstained from offering him any affront[88]. 'The author, you know, is my principal; I am under him in this house. He would gladly embrace you in the Lord, as within the church, rather than see you where you are. That you may think of him more favourably, he sends you a volume he has lately published—"Controversiarum libri"—you will like it as devotional reading, and be better pleased with the style than with that of the "Amphitheatrum."'

These being the friendly relations of Casaubon with the Antwerp jesuit, he was deeply pained to receive, from another correspondent in Antwerp, a copy of a letter or paper in which Schott had written, alluding to Casaubon: 'The unholy thirst of gold ought not to be more powerful than conscience.' The hand of a friend deals more deadly blows than

[86] Ep. 364.

[87] Epp. ad Cas. ep. 40.

[88] The name of Casaubon occurs in the Amphith. p. 144.

that of an enemy. When Erycius Puteanus, the Louvain jesuit, had made the same insinuation in his 'Stricturæ,' 1612, Casaubon had not heeded it. But Schott's words wound him to the quick. He vents his grief in expostulation[89]: 'Ah! my ancient friend, what words are these which have escaped the hedge of thy teeth! That I should prefer gold to piety! That I lust at all after gold! It is not so, not so. He who has persuaded you of this lies in a fashion worse than Cretan, and measures my motives by his own. Had I preferred gold to conscience, I should not now be in England. The chancellor of France knows this; the illustrious cardinal (Du Perron) knows this. It is known to the bishop of Paris, to all those in whose society I lived in Paris, men of your own confession, whose veracity is beyond suspicion. . . . I pray you, illustrious sir, as you regard truth, as you esteem innocence, recall your sarcasm, and be on your guard against believing a greek of Crete, a patron of regicide.' Schott did not respond to this appeal, and their correspondence ended here. Abraham Scultetus, the Heidelberg minister, on his way home from London, called on Schott at Antwerp, and wrote to Casaubon[90], 'If there be such a thing as a good jesuit, Schott is surely the best of the good.' But the letter was not received in England, indeed was not written, till Casaubon was no more.

Schott survived Isaac Casaubon fifteen years, and thus lived to see Meric's 'Pietas,' in which Meric was naïve enough to print three letters of Schott to his father, by way of evidence of Isaac's erudition. The letters are only evidence of Schott's modesty and amiability. In one wish which Schott expresses in a letter, dated

[89] Ep. 876.

[90] Burney MSS. 366.

Antwerp, January 1612, every friend of Isaac Casaubon's memory must concur[91]: 'I have received yours, most illustrious Casaubon, and was very sorry to find you still lingering in Britain. The learned, and the lovers of greek, had much rather see you going on with Polybius as you had begun, and finishing the commentary you have promised, than going into a quarrel in which you had no concern, and in which you can reap no credit, but will rather tarnish the fame you have already earned by your writings. You know how much the lustre of Joseph Scaliger's name was dimmed in his old age, in consequence of his assailing some members of our society, from whom he had never received a single injurious word; men excelling in every branch of learning, such as Toleto, Bellarmin, Possevin, Perier, and others[92].'

Another catholic friend, Marc Welser, of Augsburg, was offended, but not alienated, by Casaubon's descent into the fray. Welser was a layman, but a great friend and patron of the jesuits. On their account he had broken with Scaliger[93], and Casaubon was now told by Hoeschel[94] that he must be prepared to forfeit Welser's friendship. But Welser, who perhaps

[91] Epp. ad Cas. ep. 40.

[92] The notices relating to the life of André Schott have been collected by Prof. Baguet, in a Memoir printed in tom. 23 of Mémoires de l'académie royale de Belgique, pp. 1-49. The author has looked at the volume of Casauboni epistolæ, 1709, with so little care as to attribute its publication to Meric Casaubon, who died 1671. Gaisford reprinted the whole of Schott's notes on Diogenianus in Paræmiographi Græci, Oxon. 1836. Leutsch and Schneidewin, in Corpus Paræmiographorum, 1839, retained only a small part, 'resecta omni Schotti loquacitate in rebus sexcenties ingestis.'

[93] Scaligerana 2ª. p. 246: 'Il sera fasché de ce que j'ai escrit contre les jésuites; il ne m'escrit plus.' [94] Ep. 861.

repented that he had quarrelled with Scaliger, would not give up Casaubon. 'What,' he writes to Casaubon, January 30, 1613, 'you imagine that I am angry with you because you have muttered something against the jesuits? Not so, I vow by all that is sacred in our friendship. I am not irritable by temperament, as all my acquaintance will tell you. I confess that in matters of religion I am not accustomed to hide my feelings; and if I did, you would not hold me worthy of your love. But in the expression of my feeling, I should never go beyond the bounds of moderation; being restrained by a native instinct, by reason, by the usages of my country, and by the position in which my fellow-citizens have been pleased to place me.' This letter justifies the character which Scaliger at another time [95] gave of Welser, 'Il est honnête homme, et ne maintiendra pas les jésuites contre un homme docte.'

Welser, with de Thou and the liberal catholics,—now a small band—remained still on friendly terms with Casaubon. Du Perron wrote to him, in June, 1612, in that tone of moderation and respect which the cardinal's own high attainments imposed on him towards a scholar [96]. He regretted the libels of which Casaubon had been the object, and emphatically declared that he himself had no part in them. But the zealous party represented by the jesuits, Schott, Fronto le Duc, Sirmond, silently withdrew from the correspondence of one who had, as they thought gratuitously, gone out of his way to constitute himself the champion of a schismatical church and king. The whole politics of western Europe at the time turned on ecclesiastical considerations. It was impossible that the same feelings

[95] Scalig^a. 2^a. p. 247. [96] Burney MSS. 367.

and interests should not dominate social life. One neutral territory there was, that of learning, and this Casaubon had himself voluntarily stept out of. He had now to abide the consequences.

It was not only among the catholics, that he had alienated friends. The calvinists of the continent were aware that he had left them, that he neither shared their doctrinal notions, nor sympathised with their resistance to government. Cappel writes sarcastically from Sedan[97] in 1611, imploring him in his conduct of the controversy to spare the puritans, and the gallic churches, 'from which for so many years he had sucked the milk of piety.' He insinuates that Casaubon's leanings toward transubstantiation were a relic of Du Perron's influence, which he had hoped that Casaubon might have got rid of in England ('si quid fuliginis adhuc superest ex convictu cum Perronio').

The light in which Casaubon was now regarded by his own church is put in such strong relief by a letter of Du Moulin, that it is necessary to give it at length. It is addressed to Montagu, bishop of Bath and Wells, and is written shortly after Casaubon had left Paris for England in 1610[98]:—

'I am very loth, my lord, to intrude upon your much-occupied time by this writing, yet do I hold myself bounden to communicate with you on a matter which seems to me to touch the common welfare of your, and of our, church. And there is none other with whom I can better and more safely lodge what I have to say, than with yourself, whom I know to be moved with zeal for God, and also to have much influence with his serene majesty.

[97] Burney mss. 363.

[98] Colomesii Opera, p. 531.

'The occasion of this writing is Isaac Casaubon, whose present departure from hence to you inspires me with no little anxiety. He is assuredly a man of pith, pious and of good principle, but liable to be turned out of the way by his fears, and his irritable temper. It is about three years since that he began to think amiss in religion, and to incline to popery. Some few heads remained which he could not digest, e. g. the communion under one kind, papal supremacy, public worship in an unknown tongue, worship of images, works of supererogation; these things, in which he continues to think with us, restrained him from openly leaving us. On the other heads of controversy he does not conceal his hatred of our religion, which he abuses to the catholics, denouncing it as a modern invention of Calvin. When I admonished him on the subject, he would not take it from me, though we are old and intimate friends. The origin of all this mischief is a quarrel with the Genevese, who, he says, as parties in a law suit, have robbed him of his wife's portion. From that day he began to inveigh against our ministers in general, and to pour his venom into the ear of anyone who will listen. In this state of uncontrollable passion cardinal Perron attacked him with his arguments, easily worked upon a character of no steadiness, and in fine very nearly shipwrecked him. He used to have secret meetings with the cardinal, who set him upon reading the fathers. Whatever he met with in them which seemed to go against us, he greedily seized upon. For his learning in philology and languages is truly great, but having cultivated his memory rather than his judgment, he is deficient in clearsightedness, and in apprehension of things,

while his innate infirmity of purpose makes him ready to yield to the opinions of those with whom he is conversing. That a man of so much learning, and one whom I highly esteem, should thus go to the bad, has been a heavy affliction to me. I have endeavoured what I could to bring him back to sounder views. But I have had no success, what with his animosity against the city of Geneva, and the urgent instances of the cardinal, who knew how to season his arguments with promises.

'The invitation of the king of England arriving at this juncture, was therefore most opportune. I am now not without hopes that by converse with your lordship, and the other men of learning in your country, he may be led back into the right way. Time and removal may abate his passion. I pray you, my lord, to help what you can towards this end. I would venture to recommend as the safest course to pursue with him, that he be engaged by some decent preferment to write on ecclesiastical history, and in refutation of Baronius. Towards this he has already made large collections, and he is a mighty opponent of the papal claims. Whatever he should write on this head, would tend to edification. Anyhow I beg and entreat you to secure him for yourselves, and to keep him over there; for if he return to us his defection is certain. Certainly he did pledge himself to the queen, at his leave-taking, to come back, and this he is bound to do. But if he can obtain a settled position in England he will only return for the purpose of bringing off his household goods, and his library, which is very extensive. He will be no small acquisition to England, being, as he is, "facile princeps" in the republic of letters; we shall

be released from a perpetual state of alarm on his account, and you will have the satisfaction of having saved a soul on the verge of ruin.'

If this letter had been merely one of theological denunciation, it would have deserved no more attention than is given by men of sense to such officious delators in general. But Peter Du Moulin was no ordinary man, and his letter, with all its ill will towards him who is the subject of it, shows a shrewd appreciation of character and situation. Nor, indeed, was its object that of damaging Casaubon. Du Moulin wanted, what he says he wants, to get Casaubon out of Paris. But for this wish which he avows he had private reasons of his own, which he probably did not avow to himself. Du Moulin was a man of distinguished ability, and powerful eloquence. He was a successful disputant. Casaubon, with all his learning, had cut a poor figure in the Fontainebleau conference. Du Moulin, with no reading worth speaking of, had come triumphant out of many a set dispute with catholic doctors. When a man of powerful intellect and no knowledge talks and writes incessantly on matters of religion and morals, there is but one resource for him, that is, to maintain that religion and morals do not rest upon knowledge, and can be treated without it. This is what Du Moulin did. His favourite doctrine was, that scripture was so plain that it needed no interpreter but each man's common sense[99]. If he looked into the writings of the fathers, it was not to use them, but to find expressions which he could declaim against, as deviating from the standard of genevan orthoxody. Knowing, as we do,

[99] Eph. 824: 'Et voce, et scripto et ex ambone declamare solitus, me audiente, sacram scripturam nullo habere opus interprete, sed omnia simpliciter, ut scripta sunt, esse accipienda.'

Casaubon's estimate of the grammatical, critical, and collateral knowledge requisite for the interpretation of any ancient author, we may imagine how he chafed at sitting Sunday after Sunday to hear these opinions inculcated with all the force of Du Moulin's eloquence from the pulpit at Charenton, and how indignant he was when he had to sit and hear Cyprian branded as an 'anabaptist.' It was impossible to avoid a personal application of these tirades to Isaac Casaubon as he sate there with his bowed form and pale face, bearing the burden of all the learning belonging to the huguenot congregation. Du Moulin was aggravated by Casaubon's silent disapproval; but still more aggrieved when he heard that Casaubon had been pointing out to some friends the errors of some of Du Moulin's interpretations of texts. Du Moulin too was a great author. He had a ready pen, and writing in french, his books were highly appreciated by his flock. One of them, his 'Défense de la foi catholique,' had been annotated by Casaubon in the way he did with all his books, and many of its errors pointed out on the margin. This book, published in 1610, had been a good deal talked of in protestant circles in Paris, and Casaubon had not concealed his opinion of its shallowness. Du Moulin's ministerial prestige was endangered; he went to Casaubon and demanded the copy. Casaubon dared not refuse, and gave it up, begging at the same time that 'he would take the remarks in good part[1].' This was in October, and it was smarting under this rebuke from a member of his own congregation, that the letter to Montagu was written. It was absolutely necessary for Du Moulin's supremacy over his flock, and for his

[1] Eph. p. 765: 'Rogavit sibi dari librum Apologiæ, etc. quem edidit, in quo ego multa notaveram ipsius peccata magna.'

comfort in the pulpit, that Casaubon should be kept away from Paris[2]. If Jean Hotman is to be believed, Du Moulin had formerly, when in England, professed very different sentiments, and had wished that the doctrine and discipline of the church of England could be transplanted to France. He was now restrained, adds Hotman, from attacking Casaubon by the obligations he was under to the king and his ambassadors[3]. Casaubon never knew of the secret delation on the part of Du Moulin, of which he had been the object. Montagu handed the letter to the archbishop, who discreetly kept it to himself. But Casaubon did not conceal how much he had disapproved of Du Moulin's preaching, and opinions. He writes to Madame Casaubon[4], 'I have heard M. du Moulin maintain propositions which I detest, and shall detest, living and dying. The theology of the learned prelates in England is quite opposed to his.'

Thus losing, or alienating, those who should have been his friends, he had to submit to the unwelcome advances of others who would be friends with Isaac Casaubon, because he was a friend of the king of England. It is the fate of all men whose merits

[2] Du Moulin's 'Défense de la foi catholique' . . . runs on to 576 pages. There seemed no reason why it should not have run to double the number. But it breaks off suddenly at the place his nimble pen had reached at 5 p.m. on the fatal 14th of May: 'La mort de nostre roy semblable à un grand esclat de tonnerre nous engourdit la main d'estonnement.'

[3] Burney MSS. 367. p. 23: 'Quand a nostre M. du M. (a later hand has supplied the blank with 'Moulin') il est imprudent, impudent, et ingrat, tout ensemble. Il a appris sa meilleure théologie en Angleterre et a receu trop de bien de sa Majesté et de ses Ambassadeurs qu'il ose l'attaquer en votre personne.'

[4] Burney MSS. 367. ap. Russell, 1147.

have gained them the notice of the powerful, that the preferment-hunters seek to use them for their purposes. Of course Dominicus Baudius was early in the field. Having known Casaubon as a boy at Geneva, and having occasionally written to him since, it was necessary to announce to his old friend the fact of his marriage (1613). It was also evident that that event made it necessary that he should be provided for. Dominic is confident that his own merits must sufficiently recommend him to the king of England, and that he has only to show himself to be admitted at once to his intimacy[5]. But he thinks 'his own deserts and those of his forefathers' may be backed by Casaubon's recommendation. The good-natured Casaubon speaks to several of the nobles about Baudius; among others to Sidney. It is not enough. He must speak to the king. Casaubon does speak to the king. [6]'King has been heard more than once to express himself in terms highly laudatory of Baudius. But there is nothing to be had. It is not the custom of the english to call from other countries men of distinguished erudition. Dictum sapienti sat.' Even this flat assertion might not have stopped Baudius from coming to push his fortunes in England, had not delirium tremens closed his importunity very shortly after his receipt of this reply[7].

Lydius writes from Holland[8]: would be glad of

[5] Baudii Epp. p. 451: 'Mea et majorum meorum virtute fretus confido me futurum apud τὸν κρατοῦντα inter intimæ admissionis amicos.'

[6] Ep. 853: 'Non est mos Anglorum, ut viros eruditione claros aliunde accersant.'

[7] Baudius, † Aug. 24, 1613. Chabanes to Casaubon, Burney MSS. 367. 8.

[8] Ep. 762.

anything; would like to be minister of the dutch church in London. Lydius has to be put off by the same assurance that 'church dignities in England are never given but to native english, that the number of theologians in England is very great, for all students at the universities are theologians. And as for the dutch church in London, the king of England has no more to do with it than he has with any church in Leyden, or the Hague.'

Cameron writes from Bordeaux[9]: would like an appointment in his native Scotland, in the church, of which the king is, under God, the head. 'I cannot doubt that you, who are so high in favour with him, can easily get it done, if you will exert yourself ever so little. I was known to the king when he was a boy; and only three years ago, when I passed through England, on my way hither, I was graciously received by him. The princess Elisabeth is not ill-disposed towards me. And it will be very creditable to you, a foreigner, to be recommending a countryman of the king for his favours.'

Another 'countryman of the king's,' Alexander Hume, wanted to have his latin grammar recommended to James' notice. Casaubon does not toss the application into his waste-basket, but answers it at length, declining to say anything in favour of the grammar, because it was founded on the Ramist system, which he did not approve.

Theodore Canter, who had got himself into prison in Holland, by his own fault, hoped Casaubon would move the english ambassador to intercede in his behalf. For a friend whose sons had been his pupils at Geneva,

[9] Burney mss. 363. ap. Russell, p. 1179.

and who had read through all the Greek writers[10], who was now in evil case, however much to blame, Casaubon is ready to do what he could. But before he could take up the case, he must be informed more fully as to its merits.

Some sued in form of a dedication. Among the many who now were anxious to inscribe their books with the name of Isaac Casaubon may be mentioned Gaspar Barthius. He is mentioned, not because in his dedication of his 'Auctores Venatici, Hanoviæ, 1613,' he is more fulsome in his panegyric than the rest, but because he naively avows, in concluding, his hope that he may [11]'one day visit England, and enjoy the advantage of Casaubon's recommendation in the court of your serene prince, with whom we know that you can do anything.'

Nor was it foreigners only that he was to help to something. We have seen[12] Carier wanting him to get him the deanery of Rochester, and Richard Thomson praying him to mollify the archbishop in his favour. Casaubon was too easily fretted by many things; but all this importunity does not extort from him one harsh word against the suitors. No man was ever more indulgent to all the liberties which acquaintance can take, except when they took from him his time, the only possession which he would not part with for any one.

His many anxieties, superadded to the pull of his daily task on Baronius, and sinking health, made him more and more dependent on Florence Casaubon. The

[10] Scaligerana 2ª. p. 42.

[11] Ep. Nuncupatoria: 'Tu commendatione in aula serenissimi monarchæ tui, apud quem nihil non posse te scimus.'

[12] See above, pp. 311. 394.

bond of affection which had united husband and wife from the first, has been drawn closer by time, and common sorrows. In the closing years of Isaac's life, to devotion was added dependence. Next to God, whose presence is constant, and to whom his soul is daily poured in pious effusion, his wife is the thought of most frequent occurrence in the pages of the diary. Younger and stronger in his native land, he had watched over, nursed and protected her. Weak, prematurely aged, cast away in a barbarous country, weighed down by the daily grind of learned research, the parts are reversed; he is become dependent on her. Her long absences in France are severe trials to him. He sinks under the weight of the cares which then crowd on him[13]. How bitter is the parting! How torturing her delay to return! He is querulous, then angry with her for being away, though he sent her himself, and on urgent business[14]. He writes her a letter full of reproaches. 'How can she stay away from him so long, so much longer than there was any necessity for!' Then he tears it up, and distresses himself that he was so inconsiderate. The disorders in the household, unruly children, untrustworthy servants, increase upon his hands; [15]'and you, my wife, who ought to be governing this family, are away from me.' Then comes the hot July of 1613, and he is equally alarmed lest she should have set off on the journey. Then he hears that, so far from coming back, she was luxuriating in the country at Grigny. 'What can she be

[13] Eph. p. 987: 'Deus bone, deficio sub onere curarum, et molestiarum, quas affert mihi uxoris absentia.'

[14] Eph. p. 977: 'Urgebant negotia, quæ omnino postulabant ut istud iter uxor susciperet.'

[15] Eph. p. 996: 'Tu abes, mea uxor, quæ domum regere debuisti.'

doing at Grigny when her presence is so much needed at home[16].' Great part of many days is lost out of pure fret and heartache, because she doesn't come or doesn't write[17]. He sends his sons' tutor, Wedderburn, to escort her over. He cannot endure the suspense, he is fretting himself to death[18]. Then he hears she is coming by another route. Wedderburn will miss her. He must go himself. But the 'Exercitationes' are in the press, and the daily tale must be delivered to the printer. August 31, he sends a servant to Dover, for Florence has not learnt a word of English. She had already left Dover, and September 1, while he is deep in his writing he looks up, and she is standing by his side. Oh happy day. Little does she know how short a time she is to have him! She has just returned in time to save little James, the english son, who was being starved by the wet nurse with whom he had been placed in the country. They are separated no more, till all too soon the day of final parting takes him away before his time.

Casaubon had come over to this country in October, 1610. Florence did not join him till February, 1611. She returned to France April 29, and was absent nearly six months. His instructions on this occasion are characteristic, containing not a word relating to his pecuniary affairs, on account of which Madame Casaubon was going; his anxieties are all for his children, his books, and especially his papers[19]. 'Je vous recommande nos enfants que en tout douceur les instruisez à

[16] Eph. p. 1001.

[17] Eph. p. 1002: 'Abstulit magnam partem diei mœstitia et solicitudo tristis de uxore tamdiu absente.'

[18] Eph. p. 1009: 'Desiderio pio piæ uxoris dudum tabesco.'

[19] Burney MSS. 367. ap. Russell, 1147.

la piété, et aux bonnes mœurs, et si ne venez tost, m'envoyer quelcun.

'Je vous recommande mes livres, que personne du monde ne les manie, ni touche, que vous et mon nepueu. Faictes que au plustost je les aye par voye seure, et le tout par le conseil de nos amis, surtout de M. le Président de Thou, et de M. l'ambassadeur d'Angleterre. Vous scavez que puisque il nous fault icy demeurer quelque tems, il m'est impossible de me passer d'eux, et surtout de mon coffre où sont mes papiers.

'Si nos amis vous conseillent de haster vostre retour, il faudra faire venir mes livres avec vos hardes par navire exprès. Mais quant à Isaac, je desire qu'il vienne avec mon coffre.'

During this absence, he writes to John, the catholic son, entreating, commanding, him [20] to find his mother out, and if she is at Grigny to take out his letters to her himself. 'I have heard nothing from her these two months, and am in tortures of suspense; my life is hardly bearable!'

Florence's second visit to France was from May 3 to September 1, 1613. The return to her charge of her who, through the trials of eight-and-twenty years, had grown to be the guardian angel of the house, protected Isaac from many vexations, but could not save him from the doom which was now rapidly approaching.

[20] Brit. Mus. Addit. mss. 23101.

10.

LAST ILLNESS; DEATH; CHARACTERISTIC.

1614.

We have observed that of Isaac Casaubon's mental character more is known to us than of most men who lived so long ago. It happens also, that of his bodily organisation we have a memoir, remarkable for its diagnostic skill, from the pen of Raphael Thoris[1], his physician, of whom Casaubon justly thought most highly. The language of this memorandum may be the language of an imperfect physiology; but for all purposes of elucidation of character, and mental history, it is as complete as if it had been written by a modern pathologist.

Isaac Casaubon was the martyr of learning. While it is not probable that he would have survived to a great age, it is clear that his premature death, in his fifty-sixth year, was brought upon him by his habits of life, unintermitted study and late vigils. Varanda,

[1] Raphaelis Thorii, Historia vesicæ monstrosæ magni Casauboni, and Epistola de Isaaci Casauboni morbi mortisque causa. A Leyden printer published the first piece in 1619. Both are found in Gronovius' collection, from which Van Almeloveen reprinted them in 1709, adding an engraved representation of the diseased part.

the medical professor at Montpellier, had told him, in 1597, playfully but with meaning, that [2]'his career would be like that of Achilles, glorious but brief.' Scaliger, who had never seen him, knew of him as [3]'tout courbé d'étude.' Baudius had conjured him[4] to have some thought of his health. But friends are so apt to think that any one, who studies at all, studies too much, that remonstrances on this head go for nothing. When seriously urged to intermit his application, and allow himself a holiday, Casaubon[5] used to say 'that he had tried that remedy, and it had always done him harm; that he was never worse than when he was doing nothing, and so compelled to think of his ailments.'

This, his own account, is probably the true account of the case. The mind was destroying the organism, yet the mental excitement or occupation was, at the same time, what kept the frame going so long. He could not rest. The agitation of the spirits was necessary to life. As positive disease established itself, and his general bodily condition gradually sank, he would have become hypochondriac, had he turned his thoughts towards himself and his ailments. Instead of anxiously guarding his own organic sensations, this man, who was dying daily, was utterly careless of himself. He not only never complained, but never nursed himself, till actually driven from his books by fainting or by fever[6]. The ever-growing derangement

[2] Ep. 132.

[3] Scaligerana 2ª. p. 45.

[4] Baudii epp. p. 116.

[5] Thorii ep.: 'Mihi antehac imperatum otium, a me quæsitum, sed conatu irrito, imo pernicioso.'

[6] Ibid.: 'Homini sui negligenti, in studiis attento, ne conquerendi quidem otium erat.'

of the functions, and degradation of tissue, made itself felt in a growing mental depression, which however turned outward rather than inward. This depression had taken, from the first, the direction of devotional abandonment. The lowered nervous force in the sensibilities, combined with calvinistic theory in the understanding, submerge the hopes and affections; tend to withdraw them from life, and fix them upon the unseen. The active energies, being insufficiently called upon, become enfeebled. He became, every year, less able to cope with the worry of life. A gloom seemed to be settling on all external things. He complains[7] that wherever he looked, nothing but melancholy objects met his view. He writes to Heinsius[8] in 1612, 'The deaths of so many of my friends, remind me to think of my own, which I do constantly. Whenever my hour comes, I shall be well-pleased to leave a world in which iniquity abounds. Turn your eyes to what quarter of Europe you will, you will see what must needs fill you with anxiety. And nowhere is there any prospect of better things, all grows worse and worse.' The least thing, a thunder storm coming on while he is in the cathedral, throws him into a state of nervous anxiety[9]. Walter Scott had the first warning of his own break-down in similar symptoms. He enters in his diary, March 13, 1826[10]: 'I am not free from a sort of gloomy fits, with a fluttering of the heart and depression of spirits, just as if I knew not what was going to befall me. I can sometimes resist this successfully, but it is better to evade it.' In Isaac Casaubon,

[7] Eph. p. 954: 'Nihil video præter tristia.' [8] Ep. 846.

[9] Eph. p. 846: 'Cum essem in ecclesia Paulina, tempestas repente exorta me anxium habuit.'

[10] Lockhart, Life of Scott.

the same cause, an overdriven brain, was now producing the same inevitable results.

Nature had given him a puny and infirm frame. Though not so little as some other celebrated men of learning, as, e. g. Pietro Pomponazzo, as Melanchthon or Lobeck,—Casaubon was a man of[11] small stature, 'corpusculum tanto ingenio impar,' says Thoris. The same observant physician, when introduced to him in 1610, was astonished to see that[12] 'such exalted wisdom could be lodged in such a wretched tenement.' It did not need Thoris's experienced eye to read the sentence of death in the emaciated frame, the sunken chest, the stooping shoulders, the wasted features, the prominent cheek bone, the dark ring round the eye, the hectic flush, the accumulation of phlegm in the air-passages, the hacking cough. 'I foresaw[13] that his new calling in the service of his majesty, and his own greediness of work, would precipitate the catastrophe.' Isaac became Thoris's patient, and the worse symptoms then disclosed to him, verified the diagnostic of his eye,—the fevered pulse, the labouring heart, the sleepless unrefreshing nights, the long-standing of his cough.

It must have been obvious to everyone that he was dying. James must have seen it, when he was urging, like a taskmaster, the progress of the 'Exercitationes.'

[11] Clarendon, Life, by himself, 1. 55: 'Mr. Chillingworth was of a stature little superior to Mr. Hales, and it was an age in which there were many great and wonderful men of that size.' For noticing so 'trivial' a circumstance, the historian is taken to task by Isaac Disraeli, Curiosities of Literature, p. 282.

[12] Thorii ep.: 'In tam humili hospitio tam excelsam sapientiam habitare.'

[13] Ibid.: 'Veritus, ne, ut accidit, odio quietis, laboris dulcedine, in novo studiorum campo, in tanti regis oculis, homo impiger exsangue corpusculum cursu concitato ad æternam quietem præcipitaret.'

The worst however was not, and could not, be known till the 'post mortem.' Some twelve months before the end, there appeared symptoms which entirely baffled the medical attendants, Mayerne and Thoris. The symptoms indicated calculus; yet, on examination, the existence of calculus could not be established. During the whole of the time that he was working on Baronius, he was suffering tortures from a difficulty in the urinary passages. An incessant desire to void urine was accompanied with the impossibility of doing so. A protuberant swelling of the left side made its appearance. The doctors, not knowing what to order, prescribed the usual remedies for renal disease, riding, and the Spa waters. He proposed to drink the waters on the spot, but could not endure the thought of being again in a catholic country, and therefore consults Grotius if there[14] be not some town of the states near Spa, where he can reside, and have the waters brought him.

This was in 1612. Even in November 1613, his mental vigour deluding him as to his physical powers, Casaubon was projecting a visit to Heinsius at Leyden[15]. And in June, 1614, when the end was imminent, he is contemplating a second part of the 'Exercitations[16],' 'in which I design great things, viz. the assertion of genuine antiquity.'

In this condition, on June 24, 1614, his friends, thinking to benefit him by a drive into the country, took him to Greenwich. The party consisted of Isaac,

[14] Burmann, Syll. 2. 433; Grotius to Heinsius: 'Casaubonum jam sæpe ut ad nos transcurrat, invito, et facturum puto, eo magis quia Spadanas aquas adire jubetur a medicis.' Cf. Cas. ep. 933.

[15] Ep. 925.

[16] Ep. 927: 'Si dabit Christus vitam, magna moliemur in proxima parte, et veram antiquitatem summa fide et diligentia asseremus.'

the physician Thoris, Barclay, and their three wives. They went in a coach [17]. The jolting over the uneven pavement of the city, shook the poor sufferer cruelly. He constrained himself, however, to sit through the meal, and himself proposed a walk through the park after it, during which he was cheerful and instructive in talk as ever. When he got home, he thought he felt better. But he passed the night in cruel torture, voiding calculi, blood, and purulent urine. When Thoris came to see him in the morning, Isaac said, 'I am like Theophrastus, dying of a holiday; when Theophrastus had passed his hundredth year, he went to his nephew's wedding, and gave up a day's study to do it. But he never studied more, he died of it.' Thoris and Mayerne were in constant attendance. Thoris wished to attend him as a friend, and refused his tendered fee [18]. When Casaubon insisted he took it, saying that 'he could not stand in the way of a patient's wish to exercise the virtue of gratitude.' Nothing could be done, but to mitigate his sufferings by the hot bath and bleeding. He sustained the combat with death amid dreadful torments, borne with that entire resignation to the divine will, which might have been expected from one whose life had been one prolonged devotion. His one regret was, that he must leave his work on church history unfinished. His words latterly became inaudible, but it could be perceived that he was holding converse with that God, whom he had never forgotten for a single hour of his life. He lingered thus for more than a fortnight. On Friday,

[17] Thorii ep.: 'Vectus rheda per duras pavimenti Londinensis salebras, qua civitas longissime pertenditur.'

[18] Burney MSS. 367. p. 137: 'Ne videar velle tibi pulcerrimæ virtutis (i. e. gratitude) ansam præripere, accipio σωτήριον libenter.'

July 12 (July 1, O. S.), he received the eucharist at the hands of the bishop of Ely. After the ceremony, he signified his wish to have the 'Nunc dimittis' read aloud, and he accompanied the reader with failing voice. He had his children brought to his bedside, gave them his blessing, one by one, and straitly charged them not to follow the example of their elder brother, but to continue in the religion in which they had been brought up[19]. At 5 p.m. he ceased to breathe[20].

After death was discovered, what no diagnosis could have detected, a monstrous malformation of the vesica. The bladder itself was of natural size and healthy. But an opening in its left side admitted into a second, or supplementary bladder. This sack was at least six times as large as the natural bladder, and was full of mucous calculous matter. The malformation was congenital, but had been aggravated by sedentary habits, and inattention to the calls of nature, while the mind of the student was absorbed in study and meditation.

Much sympathy was shown him during his illness. The king sent[21] him an assurance that his pension should be continued to Madame Casaubon for her life, and that he would provide for the future of one of his sons. This part of the promise received a speedy performance. A royal missive had already, April 13, 1614, been sent to the dean and chapter of Christ Church, Oxford, requiring them[22] 'to admitt a sonne

[19] Meric, Pietas, p. 91.

[20] Besides Thoris's letter, an account of Isaac Casaubon's last moments was written by Andrewes to Heinsius. A copy of the bishop's letter is in Advers. tom. 9, from which it was printed by Bliss in his edition of Andrewes' Works, II. xlv.

[21] Birch, Court and Times of James I, I. 332.

[22] State paper, James I, docquet.

of Isaak Casaubon into the rome of a scholler of the foundation of that house, that should first become voide.' Accordingly, on August 5, Meric was admitted to a studentship, which he held for thirteen years[23].

As Isaac had designed to send his son to Leyden, we may perhaps infer that he was not altogether satisfied with what he had seen at Oxford and Cambridge. But he had acquiesced in the king's decision, and it had been arranged that Meric was to spend some time at Christ Church, before he travelled abroad to continental universities[24].

Isaac Casaubon was buried in the abbey; [25] 'six bishops, two deans, and almost the whole clergy of the metropolis,' followed the body. The funeral sermon[26] was preached by the bishop of Lichfield, Overall. The grave where his body was laid was at the entrance of S. Benedict's chapel. For many years there was no monument to commemorate him, till one was supplied by the pious remembrance of a private friend, Thomas Morton, then become (1632) bishop of Durham[27].

The assertion of the latin inscription, that Casaubon's books will outlive the marble monument, is scarcely likely to be true. The inscription, doubtless composed

[23] Dean's entrance book: 'Admd. Aug. 5. Meric Casaubon, Gallus, Gen. F. 18.' Meric was born May 4, 1599, N. S., and was therefore just fifteen.

[24] Ep. 955: 'Filii mei missionem ad vos regis serenissimi voluntas retardavit, cui placuit ut in academia Oxoniensi aliquamdiu maneret, priusquam transmarinas academias adiret.'

[25] Andrewes to Heinsius, ubi sup.

[26] I cannot find that the sermon has been preserved.

[27] It was by Stone, and cost £60. The receipt for the amount is Brit. Mus. Addit. MSS.

by Morton himself, is in better taste than many of that period, and the bishop is not answerable for the vulgar XTO, as his $\overline{\text{XPO}}$ is still visible beneath, as Mr. Scrivener[28] has pointed out. Fuller observes that 'his tomb is not in the east, or poetical, side, where Chaucer, Spenser, Drayton, are interred, but on the west, or historical, side of the aisle.' 'Casaubon's tomb was thus,' says dean Stanley[29], 'the first in a new and long succession. Isaac Walton, forty years afterwards, wandering through the south transept, scratched his well-known monogram on the marble, with the date 1658, earliest of those inscriptions of names of visitors, which have since defaced so many a sacred space in the abbey. O si sic omnia! We forgive the greek soldiers who recorded their journey on the foot of the statue at Ipsambul; the Platonist who has left his name on the tomb of Rameses at Thebes; the roman emperor who has carved his attestation of Memnon's music on the colossal knees of Amenophis. Let us in like manner forgive the angler for this mark of himself in Poets' corner.'

A few days before his death Casaubon had made a will*. He leaves, 'of the goods which the Lord hath lent me,' to his wife, to choose between taking the half, or betaking herself to her contract of marriage. To each of his daughters he gives 200 crowns, the residue of his estate being divided equally among all his children, John excepted, who was provided for by a convert's pension. But that this exclusion might not be construed as a penalty, he leaves John a cup, value

[28] Codex Bezæ, præf. p. 43.

[29] Memorials of Westminster, p. 317.

* See it in Appendix, note A.

thirty crowns. Mr. Scaliger's cup is left to 'that son who, walking in the fear of God, shall be fittest to sustain my family.' Florence is sole executrix.

Florence Casaubon, as soon as she had settled her affairs, returned to France. James acted most liberally towards her[31], and, notwithstanding her antipathy to the country and to our tongue, she returned to end her days in London. In spite of the many attempts of the doctors to kill her with the lancet[32], she survived her husband one-and-twenty years. She was buried in the cloisters of Westminster Abbey, March 11, 1635[33].

The catholic party had continued to believe that he was at heart a catholic, and that the death-bed would extort from him the confession which self-interest had suppressed during life. The french ambassador sent a nobleman to him to put the question directly, 'In what religion he professed to die[34]?' 'Then you think, my lord,' was the answer, 'that I have been all along a dissembler in a matter of the greatest moment,' expressing at the same time his horror of such deceit.

The ministers of the french church in London were in constant attendance. If Casaubon received the eucharist on the last day from the hands of an english bishop, he could do this without giving umbrage to the french ministers, on the score of the intimate

[31] Comm. in Polyb. (1617), præf. p. 10: 'Majestatis tuæ humanitate sustentata.'

[32] See Eph. pp. 444. 516.

[33] Register of Westminster Abbey; 'burials in church and chapels.'

[34] Meric, Pietas, p. 91: 'Deinde rem ipsam vehementer detestatus et abominatus est.' The words 'rem ipsam' are to be understood only of an act of dissimulation.

friendship which subsisted between himself and Andrewes. And before the rise of the Laudian school, the english church and the reformed churches of the continent mutually recognised each other as sisters[35].

Scioppius boasted that he had killed Casaubon by his 'Holofernes.' The wonder is that with such an organisation he should have survived his fifty-fifth birthday. Thoris, as has been said, believed that the mind sustained the frame. What the muscular fibre was unequal to, the flow of energy from the brain supplied[36]. He was carried on by the ardour and passion of the work which was consuming his strength.

It would be more plausible to say that Casaubon killed himself over the 'Exercitations on Baronius.' Mere intellectual labour, not pushed beyond fatigue, would not appear to be destructive of vital energy. What depresses the powers of life is prolonged labour when combined with anxiety. And anxiety is inseparable from the effort of composition. Whether the instrument of composition be a pen or a brush, whether the materials be facts, figures, harmonies, the effort to combine the whole on a given point exercises an exhausting influence, which the mere accumulation of the

[35] During Elisabeth's reign the English embassy in Paris had no chaplain, and the ambassador attended the reformed prêche at Charenton. See conversation of lord Leicester with Laud, in Blencowe, Sydney papers, p. 261.

[36] It is possible that this biological theory was popularised in medicine, when medicine was classical, by its being the traditional account of Aristotle's case. See Censorinus, Dies nat. 14: 'Naturalem stomachi infirmitatem, crebrasque morbidi corporis offensiones, adeo virtute animi diu sustentasse (Aristotelem) ut magis mirum sit ad annos sexaginta tres vitam protulisse, quam ultra non pertulisse.'

data as they occur, does not. The composition of the 'Exercitations' made this demand on Casaubon's shattered strength. There was incessant effort to combine all the extant textual data upon the point in hand; the imperative necessity pressing on his mind, that his criticism, if it were to be worth anything, should exhaust the authorities. Casaubon early noticed his own disinclination to write[37]. While reading afforded him the keenest pleasure of which he was susceptible, he took pen in hand reluctantly. As Burnet[38] says of bishop Lloyd, 'He did not lay out his learning with the same diligence that he laid it in.' The cerebral energy, exhausted by prolonged attention, was seldom exuberant enough for the higher effort of combination.

When he had written, he was dissatisfied with the result[39]. His dissatisfaction was not with the manner or the style, but with the incompleteness of his work. If he had had more time, he could have made more research[40]. 'I have the goodwill, what I have always lacked is leisure, and freedom from anxiety, defects of which my writings bear too manifest trace.' Almost a formula for the beginning of his letters is 'etsi negotiis obruor, et nutat valetudo.' One might think he had the business of a bank, or a public office, on his shoulders. Yet it was not so. He had probably as large a

[37] Epp. 266: 'Quotidie adolescit in nobis ὄκνος scribendi, et otii desiderium ad studia sapientiæ et philologiæ.' Ep. 1111: 'Nos infinita et ἀκρατὴς quædam aliquid semper indies addiscendi libido facit in scribendo sæpe omissiores. ægre impetramus a nobis, ut scribendis iis, quæ semel observavimus, operam et tempus impendamus.'

[38] Own Times, 1. 345.

[39] Eph. p. 942: 'Quædam hodie, sed quæ mox displicuerunt.'

[40] Suetonius, Tib. 65. comment.: 'Animus non deest; voluntas etiam superest; otiuin καὶ τὸ ἀμέριμνον hactenus semper defuerunt, quod nostra scripta produnt nimis.'

share of leisure as can be secured by any man who does not withdraw into a solitary cell. But when the brain is preoccupied by other currents, and the energy is drawn off into books, calls for efforts of external attention, alarm and distress.

For Casaubon's aims no leisure would have sufficed. Other effort has a limit, but in research the horizon recedes as we advance, and is no nearer at sixty than it was at twenty. As the power of endurance weakens with age, the urgency of the pursuit grows more intense. It is in vain that moralists warn antiquaries[41] to remember the shortness of life. It is better to write nothing than to produce incomplete work. And research is always incomplete.

Casaubon killed himself over the 'Exercitations.' With his mal-organisation, his life could not have been long, but excessive labour, joined with mental anxiety, hastened the end. 'Beginning,' says Thoris[42], 'in the evening of life, and with shattered constitution, an undertaking vast, arduous, and "de longue haleine," he pursued it with an energy and an assiduity of toil which younger men ought not to venture to imitate. He possessed every mental endowment required for the performance; he had abundant material accumulated. What he wanted was time. He had begun, as Crassus said to Deiotarus, "to build at the eleventh hour." But a man whose thoughts were on eternity, who lived only in mental energy, Casaubon reckoned not the number of his years, felt not the encroachment of age, or the sap of health, or the decay of his body.'

[41] Hearne, in the Rambler, no. 71: 'It is the business of a good antiquary, as of a good man, to have mortality always before him.'

[42] Thorii ep.: 'Magnum opus, et longioris animæ, aggressus in vitæ crepusculo, et deliquio valetudinis . . .'

All men of real science have probably felt something of what Newton has expressed, the painful contrast of the infinity of nature, and the insignificance of any one man's knowledge of it. But the same is true of literature. Wyttenbach has described[43] the mirage, from the illusion of which, no experience of others can save the incepting scholar. 'From the vantage ground of my youth, I looked down over the outspread stretch of life on which I was entering, as upon a limitless plain. The task I had set myself (an edition of Plutarch) seemed to lie close before me, and within my grasp. But as age advanced, things assumed a different aspect. The horizon of my span of life drew nearer, that of my task receded. Ten years passed away; the end of my labour was not even in sight. Five years more; what remained to do was still more than what was completed.'

Thus it has been the fate of many men of learning to be crushed under the burden of their own accumulations. Like Leonardo da Vinci, who was surprised by death æt. 67, before he had time to reduce his piles of MS. notes to order, Casaubon must be reckoned among those who hoarded more than they could ever use. But it was not avarice, it was the irresistible instinct of acquisition. For what he gave to the press was massive; and yet it was, as he often told Meric[44], 'a very small instalment of his multitudinous schemes.'

He left nothing prepared for press beyond a small part of his intended commentary on Polybius. This was printed, in Paris 1617, by Madame Casaubon, and amounts to no more than 212 pages in 12mo. Florence

[43] Plutarchi Opp. tom. 1. præf. p. viii.

[44] Meric, Pietas, p. 110: 'Non esse multesimam partem suarum vigiliarum.'

religiously preserved all her husband's papers[45], and carried them with her when she returned to Paris after Isaac's death[46]. The king and Andrewes selected a few papers of a theological character to retain, for any others they probably cared nothing. The rest, along with the seven volumes of the 'Ephemerides,' remained in Paris, at first in Madame Casaubon's keeping, but afterwards came into the hands of John Casaubon, the eldest son. During this time they were lent freely, and were given to any persons who manifested curiosity to see them. In this way the fourth fasciculus of the 'Ephemerides' was lost irrecoverably. It contained the three years 1604, 5, 6, and part of 1607, and as it must have contained many particulars relating to persons still living, was likely to be an object of great curiosity to the Parisians of Casaubon's set. About 1619–20, John Casaubon entered the order of the capuchins, and his father's papers came again into the hands of Florence, and of the third son, Paul, who was living in Paris. They agreed to send them over to England to Meric. Besides those which were sent at first, Meric diligently collected any stray leaves which he could hear of in the hands of friends of his father. As late as 1638, he recovered in this way a volume of memoranda, which had turned up, and been sent over by Paul[47]. Meric had all these papers sorted,

[45] Meric, Pietas, p. 111: 'Semper cavit sedulo, ne de iis parum sollicita videretur, quæ ad mariti memoriam famamque pertinerent.'

[46] The history of Isaac Casaubon's papers is given with great minuteness in a letter from Meric to Philibert de la Mare, dated Canterbury, 1641. It is printed below, Appendix, note B, from bibl. nat. MSS. fonds Moreau, 846.

[47] Adversaria, tom. 22. p. 7: 'Missa a fratre Paulo Casaubono novembri mense anni 1638.'

and extracts made of everything which appeared of an original character; critical remarks, opinions on books or authors, etc. While he lived at Canterbury, Meric's house being on the high road to London, was much resorted to by foreign scholars, to whom he was always ready to show these documents. At Meric's death, he left the six volumes of the 'Ephemerides,' as we have said, to[48] the cathedral in which he had held a prebendal stall more than forty years. The rest of the papers he deposited in the Bodleian.

Here both the originals, and the excerpts which had been made by Meric's direction, remained for many years untouched by, most likely unknown to, any of the 300 or 400 resident recipients of the endowments of the colleges. In 1709, a german philologian from Wittenberg, studying in the Bodleian, unearthed them, and was allowed by Hudson, the then librarian, to take a copy[49]. Adding to Meric's excerpts other extracts made by himself, and much extraneous matter, J. C. Wolf published, on his return to Germany, a small volume under the title, 'Casauboniana,' Hamburg 1710. It was then the heyday of *Ana*, before the abuse of the title, for trading purposes, had brought the species into such dispute, that the abbé d'Olivet, writing in 1743, could speak of them as 'the disgrace of our age[50].' Wolf's publication was not calculated to raise the credit, either of the class of *Ana*, or of Cas-

[48] Bibl. nat. ut sup.: 'Omnem librariam supellectilem libere promsi, non ut auferrent quicquam, sed ut viderent quod vellent.'

[49] Wolf, Casauboniana, præf. p. 48: 'Ad Casauboni imprimis schedas, ut ad alia omnia, V. C. Jo. Hudsoni prolixo in me favore, aditus mihi patuit.'

[50] Hist. de l'académie franç. 2. 197: 'Ces satires anonymes, ces Ana, ces gazettes littéraires, dont le nombre se multiplie impunément tous les jours à la honte de notre siécle.'

aubon. Hitherto the termination had been understood to denote reported conversation—the table-talk of the learned, the wise, or the witty. Such were the Scaligerana 1ª, 1669; Scaligerana 2ª, 1666; Perroniana, 1666; Thuana, 1669; Menagiana, 1693; Sorberiana, 1691; Chevræana, 1697. In entitling his book *Casauboniana*, Wolf incurs the charge of having, though innocently, allured purchasers by a false description of his wares[51]. Janson Van Almeloveen had just published, at Rotterdam 1709, his splendid collection of the Letters and Dissertations of the two Casaubons, father and son. Public attention was thus called again, nearly a century after Isaac's death, upon the name. Those who, as must have been the case with many, found the epistles an undecipherable hieroglyphic, would gladly seize on a book which promised a short cut to what a giant in learning had to tell. Their disappointment must have been great when they found nothing conversational in the volume.

Even if Casaubon had found a Boswell, it may be doubted if his talk could have been effectively reported. We have no account of his style of conversation, but we are sure it had not the pith and epigram, which constitute table-talk such as can be carried away, and reproduced. Two mots indeed of Isaac Casaubon are handed down. On his first coming to Paris, and being shown over the Sorbonne[52]—the old hall before it was

[51] In the course of a few years the termination *ana* received this extension, and from denoting reported conversation, came to signify memoranda of reading. A collection of such memoranda, which in 1716 had borne the title of 'Mémoires littéraires,' in a 2ª. ed. in 1740, came out as Mathanasiana.

[52] Menagiana, 2. 387: 'La première fois que Casaubon vint en Sorbonne—elle n'avoit pas encore été rebâtie—on lui dit; Voilà une sale où il y a quatre cens ans qu'on dispute: il dit, Qu'a-t-on décidé?'

pulled down—his guide said, 'Voilà une sale où il y a quatre cens ans qu'on dispute.' 'Qu'a-t-on décidé?' was the retort of the huguenot. The scene of the other saying was also the Sorbonne[53], where he had sate through a long disputation in the barbarous language of the schools, which was still cherished in the conservative university of Paris. Casaubon remarked, on coming out, that 'he had never heard so much latin spoken without understanding it.' These repartees, collected in the salons of Paris by Ménage, who was a year old at Casaubon's death, are the exceptions which prove the rule. Casaubon was an abundant, but not an epigrammatic, talker. He drew from his memory, and not from his mother-wit. His à propos was that of facts and instances, not of images. Whatever comes up, he can pour out an inexhaustible stock of suggested parallels. In the preface to 'Polybius,' to take one example, he has to speak of the usefulness of history to men of action[54]. There immediately rushes upon his memory a crowd of instances in point, from Hannibal down to the Turkish sultans of late times. And this muster-roll flows from his pen so easily, that we see it is not the laboured compilation of the desk, paraded to make a show of learning, but the lavish expenditure of a boundless wealth. When Ménage says[55] that Casaubon 'écrivoit de source,' he does not mean that he drew upon his own genius or invention in opposition to books. He means that he was not an index man. He did not compile his quotations; they suggested themselves by their relevancy. He thought of the

[53] Menagiana, 3. 34.

[54] See above, p. 221.

[55] Menagiana, 2. 153: 'Je ne fais que de thêmes, Casaubon écrivoit de source.'

object through the words of the ancients. The amassing of references did not become itself his object.

This habit of his mind is reflected in his 'Adversaria.' When Wolf gave to the world his selection from Casaubon's papers, under the title of 'Casauboniana,' great was the expectation of the learned, and great their disappointment. The literary public unanimously pronounced the collection devoid of anything which could be expected from the great reputation of Isaac Casaubon[56]. The gossips found in it no scandal, the curious no autobiography, the learned no original criticism. The explanation is to be found in Casaubon's peculiar system of work. He read pen in hand, with a sheet of paper by his side, on which he noted much, but wrote out nothing. What he jots down is not a remark of his own on what he reads, nor is it even the words he has read; it is a mark, a key, a catchword, by which the point of what he has read may be recovered in memory. The notes are not notes *on* the book, but memoranda *of* it for his own use. When he had accumulated a number of sheets, he tied them up in a packet, or stitched them up in a book, and called it 'indigesta ὕλη' — materials. 'Casaubon's way,' Grotius tells[57] Camerarius, 'was not to write out what he designed to publish, but to trust to his memory, with at least a few jottings, partly on the margin of his books, partly on loose sheets—true sibylline leaves.' The name

[56] D'Artigny, Nouveaux mémoires, I. 296: 'Il n'y a presque rien dans ce recueil qui réponde à l'idée qu'on doit se former d'Isaac Casaubon, l'un des plus sçavans et des plus honnêtes hommes de son siécle.'

[57] Grotii Epp. app. ep. 184: 'Is erat Casaubonus qui nihil parati penes se haberet, nisi in memoria, et si forte in oris librorum, aut brevibus schedis, Sibyllæ foliis.'

'Adversaria' was given to these memoranda by Isaac himself. But they are of a very different type from the Adversaria of Turnebus, or Barthius, which, like the papers of Dobree published by his friends after his death, contain notes on classical writers. Casaubon's notes are bare references, and references not to places in books, but to the thing or word to which he intended to recur. To this vast mass of material his own memory was the only key. The demand thus made upon the memory was prodigious, and the faculty seemed to respond to it. He told[58] de Thou that the mass of citation in the 'Exercitations' was in great part drawn from his memory, which supplied him with what he read ten, twenty, nay, thirty years before. Without it he could not have produced what he did.

The printed books which belonged to him were used by him in the same way, scored under, and marked anyhow, to catch the eye in turning over the leaves. The blank pages, the title page, or any page, serve to hold a reference. Hence, while the scholar reckons among his choicest treasures a greek volume with marginal corrections in Scaliger's hand, a volume which has belonged to Casaubon is merely defaced by the owner's marks and memoranda. He valued his books more than anything else that belonged to him. But he valued them only as the tools he was to work with. What cripples him when he is at work on Baronius in London is the not having his own books. Not only that many he wanted were not to be got in London, but that the copies with which Young supplied him could not replace to him his own, in which he could find anything—'quos

[58] Ep. 931: 'Veniunt in memoriam quotidie quæ legi ante decem, viginti, aut etiam triginta annos.'

usu contrivi.' His advice to students is[59]: 'Remember that it is no use to *have read* a thing, unless you retain it in your memory. Make notes therefore of everything you read, as aids to memory.' 'Practical wisdom,' he says again[60], 'is only the recollection of many things.'

The 'Adversaria,' then, are, for the most part, mere hints for his own use, and which cannot be put to use, even when they can be deciphered, by another[61]. Some aid indeed may be derived from them by the biographer. Casaubon occasionally marks upon a sheet of such scratchings the time and place of reading. At least we can get from them an insight into his method of reading, and the sources of his knowledge. They serve, in these respects, to supplement the diary. In the 'Casauboniana' all these personal indications are wanting. Wolf's object not being biographical, he retrenched all that was individual and local, and reduced each note to its literary content. For these reasons the 'Casauboniana' cannot rank with their fellows, and will not be read by those readers, if any there be now, who take delight in the Ana of the 17th century. The scholar, however, who may take the pains to examine these disjointed fragments, lying there massive and helpless, like the boulders of some abraded stratification, will at least recognise the remains of a stupendous learning. What Goethe said[62]

[59] Adversaria, tom. 16: 'Quicquid legis in excerptorum libros referre memineris. hæc unica ratio labanti memoriæ succurrendi. scitum enim illud est, Tantum quisque scit, quantum memoria tenet.'

[60] Præf. in Polyb.

[61] Wolf, Casauboniana, p. 273: 'In curis Polybianis ampla seges observationum exstat . . . sed ita plerumque congestarum, ut nullus fere observetur ordo, nonnulla *subindicentur potius quam edisserantur*.'

[62] Goethe to Zelter. Goethe's observation is so appropriate to the case of Casaubon, that I give the whole passage below. See Appendix, note D.

of Niebuhr, is here true of Casaubon, 'It is not what he tells me, but how he tells me it, that I care for. It is the deep insight, and thorough manner of the man that edifies.'

Coleridge's title pages would fill a large volume; and 'if Herder's powers had been commensurate with his will, all other authors must have been put down[63].' Of the innumerable treatises, which Casaubon announces as in preparation, few traces are to be found in his papers. When some subject of classical antiquity comes up, and he says he is going to publish a book on it, and that he has the materials by him, how much exists in his memory, how much in his scattered notes, he does not himself know. To accumulate the passages, to understand them in their mutual light, to arrange them in some sort of order, all this chiefly in his memory—and then from them to write his diatribe—this is his literary method. His schemes of this kind, unaccomplished, are here enumerated, but the list is, probably, far from exhaustive:—

1. A second volume of Exercitations on Baronius.

2. As part of the foregoing, or as independent treatises: (1) A disputation on transubstantiation. (2) On sacrifice in the christian church. See Exercitt. pp. 503. 554.

3. Of his commentary on Polybius he habitually spoke as if it were complete. But, beyond the small fragment printed at Paris, 1617, only very trifling notes towards it are found among his papers, from which Meric drew what he contributed to Gronovius' Polybius, 1670. Cf. Exercitt. p. 564, 'in laboriosissimis nostris (ad Polybium) commentariis accurate eam dictionem interpretamur.'

4. On the shows of the amphitheatre, and the games of the circus.

5. De magistratibus romanis. Of this project Adversaria 29 preserves a fragment.

[63] De Quincey, Works, 6. 117.

6. Liber de re critica. To this project, frequently referred to by Casaubon, belong a few notes hardly to be deciphered in Adversaria 23.

7. Commentarius de re vestiaria. This was planned at Geneva when he wanted to lecture on the De Pallio. He alludes to it repeatedly as finished; see Animadvv. in Ath. 13. 3, 'quæsivimus diligentissime de poetæ mente in nostris De re vestiaria commentariis; eo, te, lector, rejicere fas et jus esto nobis.' But all that remains of it is some 'collectanea' in Advers. 8 and 29. Nor is there reason to think that any more was ever written out, as Meric says he had only a 'rudis indigestaque moles' of this and of the De coloribus.

8. De coloribus. See Animadvv. in Ath. 1. 47.

9. Peripateticæ discussiones. See Strab. vit. 'quod brevi, faciente D. O. M., edemus,' and also Diog. Laert. not. 5. 2.

10. Liber de proverbiis, eph. p. 751, July 1610: 'I resolved to-day to publish shortly a book on proverbs, together with a century of proverbs.'

11. On the method of reading history. He intended a treatise on this; he discoursed on the topic as preliminary to his lecture on Herodotus in 1601, and notes of this lecture, taken down at the time, are in Bibl. nat. anciens fonds, 6252, and cf. Advers. 24.

12. Observationum liber. In February 1583, he obtained a licence from the petit conseil to print a book under this title. Geneva MSS. registre du pet. cons. fo. 25. It never appeared. In 1598 he is resolving, eph. p. 112, 'seriously to begin to cast what I have observed on various authors into a book of "commentarii observationum variarum."' Notwithstanding this resolve duly recorded in the diary, the book was never written.

13. An edition of the LXX. See ep. 186.

14. A commentary on Homer. See Strabo, comm. 13. 1, he will be brief in his notes on these two books of Strabo, because he is preparing shortly to publish his notes on Homer. Nothing of the kind is found, nor is there reason to think anything was ever written.

15. An edition of Ælianus Tacticus. See Polyb. præf. p. 61: 'Ælianum emendatum et observationibus nostris illustratum, deo propitio, vulgabimus.'

16. A fuller edition of Æneas Tacticus. Æn. Tact. pref. the present hasty edition is but 'pignus navandæ operæ.'

17. An edition of Josephus; but this time with the proviso, 'if I were younger.' Ep. 848. He had begun, at Geneva, a translation of the Hebrew Josephus into latin, not knowing, at the time, that it had been already done by Munster, and published at Basel 1541. He had got into the 2nd book before discovering this. Gronovius, though living in a land of books, it appears, from Burmann, Syll. 2. p. 571, had never heard of the Hebrew Josephus.

18. An edition of Stephanus of Byzantium. See Ep. 4 and Colomiés Bibl. choisie, p. 66.

19. Notes on the tragœdians. See Ep. 4: 'Habeo in alios scriptores græcos, præsertim tragicos, parata non pauca.'

20. An edition of Juvenal. See Ep. 523: 'Eum poetam gravissimum, si superi annuerint, accurate recensebimus.'

21. An edition of Celsus. See Ep. 533: 'Concinnanda editio, cujus neminem jure pœniteat.'

22. Notes on Cicero, Epistolæ ad Atticum. See Ep. 184: 'Audebimus et nos nostras divinationes publicare.'

23. An Arabic lexicon. See Eph. p. 510, epp. 511. 548.

24. Thesaurus. State Paper, Domestic, Jas. 1. vol. 92. no. 95. Savile to Carleton, 'The Thesaurus hee mentions, Mr. Casaubon took that worke out of my handes above two yeares before his death.' I find no other allusion to any such project by Casaubon. Can it have been a lexicon to Chrysostomi Opera for which Adversaria 28 contains a few notes?

Of all these schemes, and of others not a few, hardly any traces remain among the papers, because hardly anything was ever put on paper. He deceived himself into thinking that he had made progress in writing, when the material was heaped up only in his memory. He got at last the habit of putting by any topic as it came up, with the remark, [64] 'this we have discussed

[64] See Greg. Nyss. p. 81: 'De quibus alibi adfatim.' Scriptt. hist. aug. præf. p. 32. Notæ in Diog. La. 5. 2: 'De his nos alias.'

at length elsewhere.' The distinction between what he had read, what he had noted down, and what he had printed, became obliterated in his mind.

Next to the designed, but not performed, stands the imperfectly executed. The list of Isaac Casaubon's finished works contains twenty-five distinct publications, not including prefaces to the books of others, or second editions of his own books. Of these twenty-five, however, not many are productions by which he would have chosen to be judged. Some were mere 'juvenilia,' others imperfect attempts, which he was unwilling to acknowledge. Of the first class were the 'Notes on Diogenes Laertius,' the 'Lectiones Theocriticæ,' even in their enlarged form in Commelin's edition of 1596. Of the Strabo of 1587 he says he [65] 'was ashamed to own the parentage.' For Aristotle he did little more than correct the press, for the printers. It is not till we reach the Theophrastus, 1592, that we meet with Casaubon's characteristic merit—that we have an interpreter speaking from the fulness of knowledge.

Well done, or ill done, or half done, however, Isaac Casaubon's books are now consigned to one common oblivion. They are written in latin, and scholar's latin of the renaissance is a peculiar language, accessible to a very circumscribed public. But this is not all. Even for this circumscribed public of scholars Casaubon's books have but a secondary value. Philology is a science, not a fine art; and it is the fate of science that the books, in which it is consigned, are in a constant state of supersession. A work of literature may be surpassed, but not superseded. The

[65] Ep. 11: 'Illud opus non ut partus legitimus ingenioli nostri sed ut ἔκτρωμα ἐξάμηνον haberi debet.' Cf. ep. 580.

interpreter of the classics works for his own age only. He is the medium through which we read an ancient book, and the medium must be in the language and mode of our own day. It must possess all the latest improvements. The books of the scholars of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries have, therefore, for us little more than an historical interest. They will be visited only by those curious enquirers, who may wish to acquaint themselves with the history of learning. The biographical data will be of more interest than the philological matter. Yet as history makes itself from age to age, the oldest names must tend to recede from view. We cannot afford to know all about everybody. How many years will elapse before another reader will go through, as the present writer has done, the bulky folio of Isaac Casaubon's printed epistles, or the seven volumes of unprinted answers of his correspondents in the Burney collection? The present imperfect memorial is the first that has ever been attempted in the language of the country which adopted and endowed him. Till an abler hand shall erect an enduring monument in a modern tongue, may this essay be at least 'professione pietatis excusatus!'

But Casaubon's books, whatever their worth, were not the man. The scholar is greater than his books. The result of his labours is not so many thousand pages in folio, but himself. The 'Paradise Lost' is a grand poem, but how much grander was the living soul that spoke it! Yet poetry is much more of the essence of the soul, is more nearly a transcript of the poet's mind, than a volume of 'notes' can be of the scholar's mind. It has been often said of philosophy that it is not a doctrine but a method. No philo-

sophical systems, as put upon paper, embody philosophy. Philosophy perishes in the moment you would teach it. Knowledge is not the thing known, but the mental habit which knows. So it is with Learning.

Learning is a peculiar compound of memory, imagination, scientific habit, accurate observation, all concentrated, through a prolonged period, on the analysis of the remains of literature. The result of this sustained mental endeavour is not a book, but a man. It cannot be embodied in print, it consists in the living word. Such was Scaliger, as drawn to us by Casaubon[66]: 'A man who, by the indefatigable devotion of a stupendous genius to the acquisition of knowledge, had garnered up vast stores of uncommon lore. And his memory had such a happy readiness, that whenever the occasion called for it, whether it were in conversation, or whether he were consulted by letter, he was ready to bestow with lavish hand what had been gathered by him in the sweat of his brow.' True learning does not consist in the possession of a stock of facts—the merit of a dictionary—but in the discerning spirit, a power of appreciation, 'judicium' as it was called in the sixteenth century—which is the result of the possession of a stock of facts. Rare as genius is, it may be doubted if consummate learning be not rarer. A few such men there have been—Wyttenbach, Ruhnken, Bentley, in the last century,

[66] Casauboni præf. in Opuscula Scaligeri, Paris, 1610: 'Is erat Scaliger, qui stupenda felicitate ingenii, et assidua intentione studii, quum esset assecutus ut ingentes raræ doctrinæ opes in exprompta sua memoria, velut in sanctiore quodam ærario, haberet reconditas; ut quæque sese occasio subito offerebat, sive in communibus colloquiis, sive ad quæsita per literas amicis responderet, liberali manu quicquid magno sudore quæsiverat, promeret.'

Lobeck in the present. Such a man was Isaac Casaubon. It is a treasure which we can only possess in 'earthen vessels.' There came the death summons, and at fifty-six all those stores which had been painfully gathered by the daily toil of forty years were swept away, and nothing left but some lifeless books, which can do little more than a gravestone can do, perpetuate the name—'tot congestos noctes diesque labores hauserit una dies.'

But, besides his memory, the great scholar has left us his example. There are books, and very useful books, but of which the author is no more to us, than a portion of the machinery which put them into type. The many thousand pages which Isaac Casaubon wrote may be all merged in the undistinguished mass of classical commentary, and yet there would remain to us as a cherished inheritance, the record of a life devoted to learning.

In what does his example consist? It is the one lesson summed up in the epigram that 'genius is patience.' What is often called 'genius' was wanting in Casaubon. His want of genius saved him from falling, as Scaliger has sometimes done, into the temptation of pursuing the striking rather than the true. What Lobeck has said of himself may be said of Casaubon, that [67] 'he has never aimed at brilliant results, but at an exposition, as nearly complete as he could make it, of the scattered material.' Industry was Casaubon's genius. Not the industry of the pen, but the industry of the brain.

It is well that we should be alive to the price at which knowledge must be purchased. Day by day, night by night, from the age of twenty upwards, Cas-

[67] Friedländer, Mittheilungen, p. 23.

aubon is at his books. He realised Boeckh's ideal who has told us that in classical learning 'dies diem docet, ut perdideris quam sine linea transmiseris.' When he is not at his books, his mind is in them. Reading is not an amusement, filling the languid pauses between the hours of action; it is the one pursuit engrossing all the hours and the whole mind. The day, with part of the night added, is not long enough.

His life, regarded from the exterior, seems adapted to deter, rather than to invite imitation. A life of hardship, in circumstances humble, almost sordid, short of want, but pinched by poverty; Casaubon renounced action, pleasure, ease, society, health, life itself—killing himself at fifty-six. Shall we say that he did this for the sake of fame? Fame there was, but it reached him in but faint echoes. Even what there was, was all dashed by the loud slander of the dominant ecclesiastical party, and the whispered suspicion of the vanquished. At best, the limits of such fame must always be circumscribed. To the great, the fashionable, the gay, and the busy, the grammarian is a poor pedant, and no famous man[68]. The approbation of our fellows may be a powerful motive of conduct. It is powerful to generate devotion to their service. It is not powerful enough to sustain a life of research. No other extrinsic motive is so. The one only motive which can support the daily energy called for in the solitary student's life, is the desire to know. Every intelligence, as such, contains a germ of curiosity. In

[68] Cf. the Greville Memoirs, 2. 8: 'At one there was to be a council to swear in privy councillors and lords lieutenant, and receive Oxford and Cambridge addresses . . . I never saw so full a Court, so much nobility with academical tagrag and bobtail.'

some few this appetence is developed into a yearning, an eagerness, a passion, an exigency, an 'inquiétude poussante,' to use an expression of Leibnitz, which dominates all others, and becomes the rule of life[70].

The public of a busy age and an industrial community has quite other notions of a literary life. It is conceived to be a life of ease; it is the resource of the indolent, who would escape from the penalty of labour. An arm chair and slippers before a good fire, and nothing to do but to read books. This is the epicurean existence, the 'nova Atlantis of mediocrity à l'engrais,' which we call academic life. Of the self-denial, the unremitting effort, the incessant mental tension, the strain to touch the ever-receding horizon of knowledge, the fortitude which

> 'Through enduring pain,
> Links month to month, with long-drawn chain
> Of knitted purport,'

of the devotion of a life, the modern world of letters knows nothing. Our literature is the expression of the life from which it emanates. It bears the stamp of half knowledge. It is the dogmatism of the smatterer. It has no groundwork in science. Its employment is to enforce the chance opinion of the day by epigram and sarcasm. It hates and ridicules science. It disbelieves in it. As Saint-Beuve says[71] of De Tocqueville, 'Il a commencé à penser avant d'avoir rien appris,

[70] Compare Milton's account of the origin of 'Paradise Lost,' 'Reason of church. gov.' bk. 2. introd: 'I began to assent to . . . divers of my friends, and not less to an inward prompting which now grew daily upon me, that by labour and intent study, which I take to be my portion in this life, joined with *the strong propensity of nature*, I might perhaps leave something so written to after times as they should not willingly let it die.'

[71] Causeries, 15. 105, note.

ce qui fait qu'il a quelquefois pensé creux.' Why is it that the modern man of science stands on a higher level, moral and intellectual, than the modern man of letters? It is not owing to any superior value in the object of knowledge, but because the physicist is penetrated by the spirit of thorough research, from which our literature is entirely divorced.

Schiller says[72], 'However much may be gained for the world as a whole by the specialisation of study, it cannot be denied that the individuals whom it befals are cursed for the benefit of the world.' Was not this Casaubon's case? The diary is a complaint, a groan, a record of unhappiness. But more closely looked into, it will be found that all this misery is derived not from the scholar's life, but from the impediments to leading it which external circumstances create. If he could only get rid of cares, expel intruders, shut the door of his study, and get his time to himself!—time, 'cujus penuria laboro!' That fatal want of time; the shortness of each day! the shortness of life! This is the true scientific spirit, and was the temper which tradition handed down as the temper of the greek philosophy[73]. We find no complaint in the diary of the weariness of study, but much of those unkind friends who broke in upon study. It is not the search for truth which exhausts him, it is the being called off from it. The worry and irritation of which the diary is the sad record arises not from the pursuit itself, but from the impeded energy. He chafes under the inflictions of visitors, and the distractions of business. This resistance of the invasion of his workshop was not shyness,

[72] Æsthetische Briefe, Br. 6.

[73] Cf. Zeno's saying, Diog. Laert. 7. 23, that 'what men most want is time.'

or defective sociability. Of course it was ascribed to these weaknesses. We read in the life of Wyttenbach [74] that he was charged with misanthropy by 'society' in Leyden. On hearing of this accusation, Creuzer wrote to him; 'I know well what this indictment means. It means that you allow yourself only with the learned, and do not give up your time to the gossips. A man cannot live with these and with the muses too.'

When Casaubon is in his studies, and has made his orisons, shut up alone with God and with his books, then he is in fruition. He tells Lingelsheim [75], 'All my joys and delights are in my pursuits of literature, such as they are. With them I sweeten the bitter of life.' Writing is an effort, mixed with pain. Teaching—he did not, like Scaliger, abhor it—was no pleasure. But of reading he was insatiable. The compiler's task fatigues Casaubon, as it does others. Of imbibing knowledge he never tires. The enjoyment is, in part, the intellectual gratification of mere acquisition; the sense of the widening horizon, of the mastery of a given field, of the entering into complete possession. He writes [76], æt. 37, 'Long ago, inflamed with the ardour of learning, I eagerly procured for myself the scholia on all the poets, on the epigrammata, on Oppian.' De Maistre contemptuously describes his man of science [77], as pale with watching, blotched with ink, his arms

[74] Mahne, p. 206: 'Quod nonnulli mussitant subinde "paucorum te esse hominum," illud eam vim habet, doctiorum te esse, non otiosorum, non male feriatorum, non vulgi. quorum qui esse velit, is non potest musarum esse.'

[75] Ep. 408: 'In literulis nostris omnes nobis positæ sunt voluptates atque amœnitates quibus sœrumnosæ hujus vitæ τὰ πικρὰ edulcamus.'

[76] Lectiones Theocriticæ, p. 63. The passage is one of the large additions to the 2d. ed. of 1596.

[77] Soirées de Sainct Pétersbourg, 1. 95.

loaded with books and instruments, dragging himself along the highway of truth. De Maistre belonged to a generation, or a class, to whom the sweetness that is found in learning was unknown. Casaubon had tasted it; but what was peculiar to him was that he carried on into middle life the appetite of youth, the passionate desire to exhaust knowledge.

But his gratification has also another source. What he reads delights him. Prosaic as Isaac Casaubon's own style is, he is not wholly without a sense of poetry. The twenty-seventh poem of the Theocritean collection draws from him the confession 'mellitissimum carmen.' He derives pleasure from Nonnus. But his preference is for the practical sense of such authors as Strabo and Polybius. Greek speculation was wholly closed to him. His idea of philosophy is that political philosophy may be learned from history, and ethical from biography[78]. He appreciates maxims of common life such as were to be met with in the stoic school. He believes, with his age, or rather with the 3rd century, that Greek philosophy was the relic of a primæval revelation[79]. Athenæus, on which he spent so much time, he found tiresome owing to the absence of ethical motive in the book. Casaubon's want of classical feeling limited his pleasure in the pure classical writers. The higher accents of Greek poetry and speculation he could not catch. What stirs his soul is Christian greek, e. g. S. Chrysostom, whose 'Epistola ad Stagirium' excites him to rapture[80]. Of the canonical books, the hebrew psalter is a constant companion, and never

[78] Hist. Aug. Scriptores, præf.

[79] Exercitt. in Bar. p. 507: 'Si philosophi quidem, ex primævæ lucis reliquiis, balbutire de istis aliquid fortasse potuerunt.'

[80] Eph. 1055: 'O divinos libros! o pectus dei plenum!'

fails to move him. It was the only book he had[81] brought with him to England, having thrown it casually into his travelling-bag. He carried it with him everywhere, and he records that at Downham, in the thicket, he had read over the 119th psalm with effusion. He is carried away by the enthusiasm of S. Paul. Reading 2 Cor. 4. 17, 'Our light affliction,' etc. he exclaims[82], 'Divine words! Paul of all writers I could think wrote not with fingers, pen and ink, but with pure emotion, heart, bowels! Take any epistle of Paul, e. g. that to the Philippians, and dwell upon it; what glorious passages, what glowing vehemence of language!' With what attention he had read S. Chrysostom, voluminous as his writings are, may be instanced in his saying[83], 'Unless my memory deceives me, Chrysostom, in his genuine works, never refers the expression "daily bread," in the Lord's prayer, to the eucharist.' It is almost a paradox that this most successful and most thorough interpreter of the classics, should have been a man who was totally destitute of sympathy for their human and naturalistic element.

The habitual attitude of Casaubon's soul was abandonment; not merely resignation, but prostration before the Unseen. He moved, thought, and felt, as in the presence of God. His family and friends lay near to his heart, but nearer than all is God. In all his thoughts the thought of God is subsumed. He

[81] Advers. 25. p. 125: 'Unicum fuit psalterium, quod in peram projicerem, futurum mihi assiduum comitem.'

[82] Advers. ap. Wolf, p. 135: 'Ille solus ex omnibus scriptoribus non mihi videtur digitis, calamo, et atramento scripsisse, verum ipso corde, ipso affectu, et denudatis visceribus.'

[83] Exercitt. in Bar. p. 531.

hardly puts pen to paper without marking the sheet σὺν θεῷ[84]. A calvinistic creed, and a shattered organism, combined to foster this dejection, and to maintain him in a state of habitual despondency. Yet for Casaubon, as for the huguenot of that time of rebuke and defeat, out of weakness came strength. The confidence, inspired by the sense that he was the special care of almighty providence, balanced the self-abasement of the individual. The physician Thoris[85] remarked that the mind had sustained the body. The sustaining force was in part intellectual energy, but in part, also, the courage of christian faith and hope, which relies on a power above its own.

In such a temperament superstitious beliefs were sure to lodge. Yet Isaac Casaubon was not more, but rather less, superstitious than his age. He swallows the alchemical fiction of 'potable gold[86],' though his countryman Palissy had long before[87] exposed it. All belief is with him a question of authority, and books. If a great author has said a thing, it is so. He believes[88] that earth brought from Palestine cured diseases, and availed against evil spirits, because S. Augustine said so. That women were sometimes turned into men he reads[89] in Hippocrates

[84] Greg. Nyssen. p. 60, he notes: 'Mos ille piorum fuit laude dignissimus, ut epistolis suis domini nomen præponerent.'

[85] See above, p. 474.

[86] Eph. p. 978.

[87] Palissy, Le moyen de devenir riche, p. 186. ed. 1636.

[88] Exercitt. in Bar. p. 660: 'Hoc, quia tantæ pietatis vir, non ut ex incertis rumoribus acceptum, sed ut certo sibi compertum, narrat, verum esse equidem nullus dubito.'

[89] Advers. tom. 4.

and Plinius, and has heard of instances in our times[90]. But stories equally well vouched by Gregory of Tours, or by Beda, he rejects. The authority is insufficient. Robert Constantine wrote in a friend's album that he had then passed his hundredth year. Casaubon[91] will not believe it; he is 'taking the old man's licence with his age.' He hesitates to give his assent to the efficacy of the royal touch[92]. It is vouched by grave witnesses, but not by any ancient author. A prodigy well authenticated is related to him *, as having happened at Cambridge; he replies, very cautiously, 'that if it were so, it would be very marvellous.' He scorns[93] the fable of pigmies, though their existence was vouched by an eyewitness. But then here he relied upon Strabo, who had in excellent greek pronounced pigmies to be poetic fictions.

We have represented Casaubon as destitute of imagination. He was without what is commonly called so—the inventive imagination of the poet, that dangerous faculty which enlivens fact, but too often also supersedes it. But his realistic habit of mind took from objects a vivid image; he was a close and keen observer, always trying to form an exact picture. He was particularly attracted by the marvellous in nature—monstrosities, deformities, oddities. He had collected out of the ancients all the wonders he had met with

[90] Bishop Burnet, Letters, etc. p. 246, believed that the same transformation had happened to two nuns at Rome.

[91] Advers. tom. 4. f. 23.

[92] Eph. p. 790: 'Res est visu dignissima, et cujus effectum viri graves et pii prædicant.'

* See Appendix, note C.

[93] Comm. in Strabon. p. 189: 'Legi Bergæi cujusdam Galli scripta, qui se vidisse diceret. at non ego credulus illi; illi, inquam, omnium bipedum mendacissimo.'

in the course of his reading. Spontaneous combustion, flying, levitation, conjuring tricks, enter into this catalogue. It is quite in the spirit of Ulysse Aldrovandi, whose works, although many of them were already in print, were unknown to Casaubon; and the scholar is of less easy credulity than the naturalist by profession. Casaubon had read with care and extracted[94] Fernelius 'De abditis rerum causis.' His copy of Bodin's 'Theatrum'[95] bears throughout marks of the attention with which he had read it. Among the matters noted in it are (p. 391) the birth of a child after eighteen months' pregnancy; (p. 429) the breast of an old woman which yielded milk upon being perseveringly sucked. The court and ecclesiastical circles occupied themselves much with wonders such as would now be abandoned to the speculation of the uneducated. Morton writes to him that a comet has risen in France, portending evil to the protestants[96]. Andrewes tells him[97] a story of a man in Lombard Street who, in the year 1563, had died of the plague, came to life again sufficiently to order and eat a veal cutlet, and then died for good. Another marvel, repeated by Andrewes, had been told him by Still, late bishop of Bath and Wells, how that after a thunderstorm at Wells, the persons present in the cathedral, including the bishop and his wife, had found themselves marked in various parts of the body with crosses[98]. Casaubon suspends his belief; he does not, like Laud, look timidly round for omens, but these things interest him. He who

[94] Adversaria, tom. 11.

[95] Now in King's library, Brit. Mus.

[96] Burney MSS. 367. p. 87.

[97] Advers. tom. 25. p. 115. [98] Ibid. tom. 28. p. 125.

pares down his memoranda to the briefest possible jottings, spares the time to write out these narratives of prodigies at full length.

Apart from the marvellous, he would inquire into and investigate any striking natural facts. The curiosity he exhibited in this direction is further evidence of his craving appetite for information, without reference to any use it might be turned to. He examined a Polish envoy[1], whom he met at Theobald's, on the natural history of Poland, how a strong north wind had once covered the country with flights of the pelican. He makes a descriptive note of the ounce[2] which the Savoy envoy brought from Algiers. He had spoken with the horned man from the Cevennes, who was brought to Paris in Henri IV.'s time, and learned his history from his own mouth. Thus he knew[3] that horned men were possible, but men with hoofs (Satyrs) were the creation of the poets. He goes, of course, to see Banks' horse. Banks was in Paris with his horse in 1601. From his name, Morocco, one would conjecture that the horse was Arab, though Melleray[4] calls him 'a bay english gelding.' Casaubon went to the Rue de la barre du bec to see him, and took much pains to investigate the phænomenon. He cannot doubt that 'brutes are sometimes inhabited by evil

[1] Advers. tom. 28. p. 124. The word used by Casaubon is 'onocrotalus.' He means, I suppose, the common pelican, Pelecanus onocrotalus, Linn., a species which, though pretty widely distributed over eastern Europe, hardly occurs so far north as the Baltic.

[2] 'Cattopardus' Casaubon calls it; I suppose Tigris uncia of Linnæus.

[3] De Satyrica poesi, 1. c. 2. p. 148.

[4] Apuleius, p. 250: 'Le cheval est de moyenne taille, guilledin d'Angleterre.'

spirits[5],' yet in this instance he elicited the secret of the horse from the showman's own confession. The readiness with which the scotch jockey—vir honestissimus—parted with his secret to Casaubon may have been occasioned by his fear of being condemned for a wizard if he affected supernatural powers. And the natural docility of the animal was quite as wonderful as a miracle[6]. He is always pleased when he can illustrate his author with some fact which he has observed himself. So in Athenæus, Hiero's tesselated pavement[7] with scenes from the Iliad, reminds him of the gallery at Fontainebleau which Francis I. had painted with scenes from the Odyssey. Such illustrations, of which traces still appear in his commentaries, had originally served to enliven an oral lecture. Apropos of a passage[8] in Theophrastus, he remembers that the same fashion of pouring the wine into the water, and not the water upon the wine, still prevails in Languedoc. He illustrates the 'lapidosa cheragra' of Persius[9] by mention of a case, probably

[5] Adversaria, ap. Wolf, p. 55, cf. 'Letter to Martin,' London, 1615.

[6] Eph. p. 325: 'Quod potuimus præstitimus (i. e. in study) sed ita ut horam daremus spectaculo illius equi Scotici mirabilis.' It is the 'dancing-horse' of 'Love's Labour's Lost,' act I. sc. 2. Cf. Hall, Satires, 4. 2: 'Who vies his pence to view some trick Of strange Morocco's dumb arithmetic.' Whitelock's Zootomia, p. 143; Webster, Works, 3. 207. Other passages are collected by Douce, Illustrations of Shakespeare, p. 131.

[7] Animadverss. in Athen. 5. 10, and 1. 14. Fifty-eight paintings of the adventures of Ulysses, designed by Primaticcio, were executed in fresco by Nicolo del' Abate, right and left, on the walls of 'la grande galerie.' This gallery, built and thus adorned by Francis I, was pulled down by Louis XV, who could destroy what he could not replace. See d'Argenville, Vie des peintres, 2. 16 (1782).

[8] Animadverss. in Ath. 11. 4.

[9] Comm. in Pers. p. 392.

familiar to the medical students, of a gouty patient in the neighbourhood, who had discharged from his joints more than his own weight in chalk stones. The use of dogs to carry despatches through the enemy's lines; the checked plaids of the swiss peasantry; the spanish almonds he had seen at Lyons; the practice of fixing the antlers of the deer over the gates of the château—these are a few among many examples, which might be culled from his various notes, of his general remark [10] that every day life is constantly reproducing its old incident.

When credulity is allowed scope, intolerance is not far off. Isaac Casaubon, who differed from the religion of his contemporaries, could not endure that a smaller minority should deviate from his own creed. He takes credit with Du Perron [11] for James' interposition in the matter of Vorstius. He thinks the Racovian catechism so detestable that he would annihilate it [12]. He would have had Stapleton's body dug up and burnt [13], for some extravagant expressions about the power of the church. Worst of all, the burning of Legatt, the feeble imitation by the english church of the great crime of Calvin, had—would that it had not—Casaubon's approval [14].

Nothing is more common in his later years than

[10] Æn. Tact. c. 15: 'Vita quotidiana nova subinde suggerit, iis quæ olim acciderunt plane gemina. vidimus et nos Allobrogico bello,' etc.

[11] Resp. ad card. Perron. p. 5.

[12] Eph. p. 963.

[13] Advers. ap. Wolf, p. 49.

[14] Exercitt. in Bar. ded.: 'Arrianum in sua perfidia obstinatissimum, qui in vinculis diu detentus, revocari ad sanam mentem nulla ratione potuerat, flammis ultricibus tua majestas, impatiens injuriæ factæ domino nostro Jesu Christo, Deo ἀκτίστῳ, jussit tradi.'

the epithets 'wicked,' 'impious,' 'blasphemous,' bestowed not on conduct, but on opinions. As the ecclesiastical spirit gains on him, it invades his judicial function as an interpreter. Once or twice he shows a disposition to twist the sense of a passage in a father to make it orthodox. The theory of verbal inspiration comes across his path on the same ground. The hebrew and greek of the canonical books, both words and matter, are inspired by the Holy Spirit, who suggested to the writers what they should say, and in what words[15]. The word *βαττολογεῖν*, though not the actual word employed by our Lord, who spoke syriac, is yet the exact equivalent supplied by the Holy Spirit[16]. At this point the critic merges in the religionist, and he refuses to apply the knowledge which he possesses to the purpose of interpretation.

Casaubon's attitude towards the religious parties of his time has been touched upon already, more than once, in the course of this memoir. What has been said may be summarised as follows.

Up to the middle of his Paris period, he had remained, what he had been brought up, a pure Genevan calvinist. This old huguenot party, thorough believers in their own creed as exclusively true, were for no compromise with the papal anti-christ. About 1605 and thenceforward, his exclusiveness began to give way. Commerce with the world of a capital, conflict with rational catholics, and an assiduous study of antiquity, could not fail to enlarge his ideas, and necessitate a change of position. It is highly probable that while this change of front was being effected, he 'wavered,' and thought of transferring himself to the catholic church, of becoming,

[15] Exercitt. in Bar. 13. 18. [16] Ibid. 14. 8.

simply and purely, a convert. But after a short period of irresolution, during which he was feeling his way, mentally and morally, he settled down in the attitude which we may call fusionist. This was the position of many of the best and most well-informed protestants of that period, Grotius, Calixtus, Jean Hotman, Bongars. Unable to acquiesce in the narrow dogmatism of the calvinists, or to surrender the world to the domination of the clergy, these men proposed a middle term, a reunion of Christendom on the basis of a comprehension. They regarded the Reformation, not as a new religion, but as a return to primitive christianity. They desired to promote, not protestantism, but a religious revival, in which all christians should participate without quitting the communion of the church universal. The politicians, like Hotman and Bongars, aimed at bringing this about by diplomatic means. They wanted a general council. The more learned, like Casaubon, sought the same end by popularising a knowledge of antiquity. All parties understood that the edict of Nantes was no settlement, that it was but a truce, which was being worked for the benefit of the stronger party, by the system of gradual encroachment.

Such seem to be the special characteristics of Isaac Casaubon. Something remains to be said to indicate his position in relation to the general course of ancient learning in modern Europe.

De Quincey[17] has endorsed the complaint that 'the great scholars were poor as thinkers.' De Quincey wrote at a time when 'original thinking' was much

[17] Works, 3. 168.

in repute, and was indeed himself one of the genial race to whom all is revealed in a moment, in visions of the night. To break entirely with the past, to owe nothing to it, was then the ambition of all. A freshness and vigour characterise the english and german literature of the fifty years 1780–1830, which are due to this effort to discard the lumber of 'unenlightened' ages. The 'scholars' of the sixteenth century were engaged in an employment the very opposite of that of the 'genialities.' The scholars were not 'poor as thinkers,' because thinking was not their profession. They were busy interpreting the past. The fifteenth century had rediscovered antiquity, the sixteenth was slowly deciphering it. For this task, memory, not invention, was the faculty in demand. These two are[18] faculties which are usually found in inverse energy in an age as in an individual. It is no more appropriate to require of the interpreters that they should have been thinkers, than to require of the 'illuminati' that they should have been learned. If to a De Quincey the scholar is a 'poor thinker,' to a Wyttenbach[19] the 'thinker' wears the appearance of one who 'would disguise his ignorance of facts under the polished surface of philosophical phraseology.' Nor was it only in the age of genius that it was supposed

[18] Cf. what Priestley says of himself, Autobiography, p. 76: 'My defect in point of recollection, which may be owing to a want of sufficient coherence in the association of ideas formerly impressed, may arise from a sort of constitution more favourable to new associations; so that what I have lost with respect to memory, may have been compensated by what is called invention, or new and original combinations of ideas. This is a subject that deserves attention.'

[19] Wyttenbach, Philomathia, 2. 145: 'Nunc sunt qui in historia scribenda nil nisi disserant ac ratiocinentur, et *rerum gestarum ignorantiam philosophando dissimulent.*'

desirable to be without knowledge of what has been said by those who have gone before us. M. Taine[20] has a remarkable chapter in which french hatred of 'pedantry' is erected into a system. Victor Cousin is rallied for his taste for original documents, and it is made a serious blemish in his fame, that he preferred to write biography from textual sources, instead of superseding the facts by a statement of his own subjective consciousness.

Though it is out of place to complain of Casaubon for being 'a poor thinker,' it is proper to ask how far he was an efficient interpreter.

'The modest industry of Casaubon,' says Bernhardy[21], 'was the complement of the genius of Scaliger. Casaubon was the first to popularise a connected knowledge of the life and manners of the ancients.' This was all; but fully to apprehend Bernhardy's words demands some acquaintance with the previous history of classical study.

The Renaissance had dealt with antiquity, not in the spirit of learned research, but in the spirit of free creative imitation. In the fifteenth century was revealed to a world, which had hitherto been trained to logical analysis, the beauty of literary form. The conception of style or finished expression had died out with the pagan schools of rhetoric. It was not the despotic act of Justinian, in closing the schools of Athens, which had suppressed it. The sense of art in language decayed from the same general causes

[20] Philosophes françois, ch. 8. It is said of Mézeray, who wrote the history of France from Pharamond, that he once boasted, and that in the presence of Du Cange, that 'he never read any of the monkish chronicles.'

[21] Grundriss d. römischen Lit. p. 120.

which had been fatal to all artistic perception. Banished from the roman empire in the sixth century, or earlier, the classical conception of beauty of form re-entered the circle of ideas again in the fifteenth century, after nearly a thousand years of oblivion and abeyance. Cicero and Vergil, Livius and Ovid, had been there all along, but the idea of composite harmony, on which their works were constructed, was wanting. The restored conception, as if to recoup itself for its long suppression, took entire possession of the mind of educated Europe. The first period of the renaissance passed in adoration of the awakened beauty, and in efforts to copy and multiply it.

But in the fifteenth century, 'educated Europe' is but a synonym for Italy. What literature there was outside the Alps was a derivative from, or dependent of, the italian movement. The fact that the movement originated in the latin peninsula, was decisive of the character of the first age of classical learning (1400–1550). It was a revival of latin, as opposed to greek, literature. It is now well understood that the fall of Constantinople, though an influential incident of the movement, ranks for nothing among the causes of the renaissance. What was revived in Italy of the fifteenth century was the taste of the schools of the early empire —of the second and third century. There were, no doubt, differing characteristics, for nothing in history ever exactly repeats itself. But in one decisive feature the literary sentiment of the fifteenth century was a reproduction of that of the empire. It was rhetorical, not scientific. Latin literature as a whole is rhetorical. There are exceptional books, such as the 'Natural history' of Plinius, but, on the whole, the idea of science

was greek, and is alien to latin. To turn phrases, and polish sentences, was the one aim of the littérateur of the empire. This phraseological character of literary effort is clearly marked in the preface which Aulus Gellius (circ. A.D. 150) prefixed to his 'Attic evenings[22].' In this he apologises to the reader for the seemingly recondite nature of some of his chapters. 'This profundity,' he says, 'is only such in appearance. I have avoided pushing my investigations too deeply, and present the reader only with the elements of the liberal arts, with such matters only as it is a disgrace to an educated man not to know.' This divorce of the literature of knowledge, and the literature of form, which characterised the epoch of decay under the early empire, characterised equally the epoch of revival in the Italy of the popes. The refinements of literary composition in verse and prose, and a tact of emendation founded on this refined sense, this was the ideal of the scholar of the italian renaissance.

The decay and extinction of the artistic enthusiasm of the Italians was gradual, but may be said to have been consummated soon after the middle of the sixteenth century. 'Petrus Victorius,' (who died 1584, æt. 90,) says de Thou[23], 'longæva ætate id consecutus est, ut literas in Italia nascentes, et pene extinctas, viderit.' Out of the decaying sense of form arose, however, a new perception, of which the remains of antiquity were equally the object. Composition is at best an amusement of the faculties, and could offer no satisfaction to

[22] Noctes Atticæ, præf.: 'Non fecimus altos nimis et obscuros in his rebus quæstionum sinus; sed primitias quasdam et quasi libamenta ingenuarum artium dedimus, quæ virum civiliter eruditum neque audisse unquam, neque attigisse, si non inutile, at certe indecorum est.'

[23] Thuani Hist. 4. 319.

the awakened intellect of Europe. As the eye, captivated at first by charms of person, learns in time to see the graces of the soul that underly and shape them, so the classics, which had attracted by their beauty, gradually revealed to the modern world the rich wisdom which that beauty enshrined. The first scholars of the renaissance enjoyed, without labour, the harmonies of language, the perfection of finish, which the great masters of latin style had known how to give to their work. Just when imitation had degenerated into feebleness, mannerism, and affectation, the discovery was made that these exterior beauties covered a world of valuable knowledge, even in the latin writers. And underlying the latin literature, it was perceived, was one more valuable still, the greek. The interest of the educated world was transferred from the form to the matter of ancient literature. Masses of useful knowledge, natural or political, the social experience of many generations, were found to have lain unnoticed in books which had been all the while in everyone's hands. The knowledge and wisdom thus buried in the greek writers presented a striking contrast to the barren sophistic, which formed the curriculum of the schools.

It became the task of the scholars of the second period of the classical revival to disinter this knowledge. The classics, which had been the object of taste, became the object of science. Philology had meant composition, and verbal emendation; it now meant the apprehension of the ideas and usages of the ancient world. Scholars had exerted themselves to write; they now bent all their effort to *know*. The period of youthful enjoyment was at an end; the time of manhood, and of drudgery, was entered upon. There came now into existence, what has ever since been known as

'learning' in the special sense of the term. The first period of humanism in which the words of the ancient authors had been studied, was thus the preparatory school for the humanism of the second period, in which the matter was the object of attention.

As Italy had been the home of classical taste in the first period, France became the home of classical learning in the second. Though single names can be mentioned—such as Victorius or Sigonius in Italy, Meursius or Vulcanius in the Low Countries, who were distinguished representatives of 'learning'—yet France, in Budæus, Turnebus, Lambinus, Joseph Scaliger, Isaac Casaubon, and Saumaise, produced a constellation of humanists, whose fame justly eclipsed that of all their contemporaries. The *first* period in the history of classical learning may be styled the italian. The *second* period coincides with the french school. If we ask why Italy did not continue to be the centre of the humanist movement, which she had so brilliantly inaugurated, the answer is that the intelligence was crushed by the reviviscence of ecclesiastical ideas. Learning is research; research must be free, and cannot coexist with the claim of the catholic clergy to be superior to enquiry. The french school, it will be observed, is wholly in fact, or in intention, protestant. As soon as it was decided, as it was before 1600, that France was to be a catholic country, and the university of Paris a catholic university, learning was extinguished in France. France, 'noverca ingeniorum,' saw her unrivalled scholars expatriate themselves without regret, and without repentance. With Scaliger and Saumaise the seat of learning was transferred from France to Holland. The *third* period of classical learning thus coincides with the dutch school. From

1593, the date of Scaliger's removal to Leyden, the supremacy in the republic of learning was possessed by the Dutch. In the course of the 18th century the dutch school was gradually supplanted by the north german, which, from that time forward, has taken, and still possesses, the lead in philological science.

Of the six names which we have put forward as the coryphæi of the second, or french, school of learning—Budæus, Turnebus, Lambinus, Scaliger, Casaubon, and Saumaise—each has his own individual character and privileged faculty.

We are concerned at present only with Casaubon. And it so happens, that it is precisely Casaubon who forms the best and most perfect type of the school in which he must be classed. He owes this representative character to his deficiency in individual genius, which made him receptive of the secular influences. While the poetical principle, the creative impulse, had been the moving power of the renaissance, the faculty which was called for, in the period which succeeded the renaissance, was the receptive and the retentive faculty. The spirit of discovery languished. It had been found, that there was extant a vast body of knowledge, and that to read ancient books was the road to it. The self-moved mind, 'Das Selbstbewegen aus sich,' was no longer the instrument; the intellectual object was a given object, as it had been in the 13th century, so again in the 16th. As, in the 13th century, this object had been the church dogmatic tradition, now it was the classical tradition, which had been broken in the 6th century.

To put together this tradition, to revive the picture of the ancient world, patient industry, an industry adequate to a complete survey of the ex-

tant remains of the lost world, was the one quality required. This was Casaubon's aim, and inspiring ideal. He is not a great grammarian. His sense of language is not equal to that which has been possessed by the great critics from Scaliger down to Cobet. Hence his metrical skill is small, and he is rarely happy in an emendation where metrical or grammatical tact come into play. Yet it is not inconsistent with this fact that Scaliger could say of Casaubon, that he knew more greek than himself[24]; and that Ruhnken[25], more than a century and a half later, could say, that, even then, he had been surpassed by no one but by Hemsterhusius. A very moderate amount of scholarship is enough to enable us to discern that there are limitations to Casaubon's power over Greek. His own metrical composition is abject. He is not very successful in greek prose[26]. Yet he had so familiarised himself with greek idiom, that greek phrases are continually emerging in his latin sentences, as the natural expression of his thought. The explanation of this seeming incon-

[24] Scalig[a]. 2[a]. p. 45: 'C'est les plus grand homme que nous avons en grec; je lui céde.' Cf. Scal. Epp. p. 221: 'Et memoria avorum et nostri sæculi græce doctissimum.'

[25] Elogium Hemsterhusii, p. xvi: 'Complectar brevi et non exaggerandæ rei causa, sed simpliciter ac vere hoc dico, Hemsterhusium græcarum scientia literarum omnino omnes qui inde a renatis literis excellenter in iis versati sint, ipsum etiam Isaacum Casaubonum, cui doctorum hominum consensus primas deferre solet, longo post se intervallo reliquisse.'

[26] In the printed volume of Casaubon's epistles, Rot. 1709, there are five addressed to Andrew Downes, in greek. The answers of Downes are preserved, Brit. Mus. Burney MSS. vol. 363. As far as I am able to judge in such a matter, the Cambridge professor has the advantage in point of style and rhythm, while Casaubon has a larger vocabulary, and more command of idiom.

sistency is, that he thought in greek words and phrases, but not in greek sentences. His memory supplied him with a full vocabulary, but he had not cultivated, either the logic or the rhythm, of the greek sentence.

M. Germain, in a memoir on Casaubon at Montpellier[27], tells us that Casaubon 'had an astonishing aptitude in collating the various MSS. of an ancient author and eliciting the original reading.' Whatever other merits Casaubon's editions may have had in their day, that of a text regularly formed by collation was not one. A survey of the existing written tradition, as is now required of any text editor, was an idea unknown to his age. But Casaubon was even behind his age in this respect. He never attempted collation. He did not even construct a text out of the materials in his hands. His proceeding was the rude proceeding which the italian humanists of a century before had employed. This was, in difficult passages, to look into his MSS, and select that reading which seemed to suit the sense best. Though he had at his command the treasures of the royal and medicean libraries, he never used them for the establishment of a text. But he made ample use of them for that which was his true vocation—extensive reading.

His available resources for emendation being feeble and casual, he must have recourse to conjecture. Conjectural emendation is a practice in which the scholar may revel as exercise, but which the diplomatist, who is constructing a text, ever regards with

[27] Acad. d. sciences et d. lettres de Montpellier, 5. 208: 'Une étonnante aptitude à conferer entre eux les MSS. des anciens auteurs pour en retrouver la leçon originale.'

suspicion. Of the merits of Casaubon's conjectures I am not competent to judge. Their character appears to be the suggestions of realist knowledge, rather than of tact of language. They are numerous, but he is helpful, rather in correcting the minor blunders of the copyist in a tolerably ascertained context, than in those desperate and deeply seated ulcers, which are apt to gather round an old wound. The rights of rational conjecture, and the necessity of sometimes overruling both the antiquity, and the consent, of MSS, are as peremptorily asserted by Casaubon as by Cobet*. But in practice, in the exercise of this right which he claims, he is very conservative[29]. 'Hæc lectio non placet, placeret Juniana, si esset ex libris[30].' 'Torrentius' conjecture is very clever; but I cannot adopt it in the teeth of all the MSS, from which I can never depart, except when it is absolutely necessary; and in this rule I am sure a man so learned as Torrentius will agree with me.' And in the short notes on Dionysius of Halicarnassus he says[31], 'What need here, I ask, of conjecture? No sound scholar will ever hesitate to reject a conjecture, however plausible, when it is against MS. authority.' Ritschl[32] almost repeats this dictum of Casaubon, when he says, 'There is hardly any codex, of any classical author, so bad, that it will not, occasionally, offer a good reading, which will deserve more credit than a conjecture, even a likely one.'

* See note E in Appendix.

[29] Advers. tom. 60.

[30] Sueton. Claud. 24.

[31] Comm. in Dionys. Hal. p. 182: 'Conjecturis obsecro quid hic opus est? quas nemo satis qui sit sanus, non spernet, præ veteribus codicibus quantumvis blandiantur.'

[32] Opuscula, 1. 539.

The language was to Casaubon not an end, but a means. He never speaks with unscholarlike superciliousness of the minutiæ of grammatical technic; but he never dwells on these minutiæ with pedantic self-complacency. He would not dispense with an accurate knowledge of the language. But he sought through it to penetrate to a knowledge of the thoughts conveyed by the language. Here, where the call is upon the memory of an attentive and observant reader, is his forte. He can bring to bear upon any one passage the whole of the classics, ever present in his memory. He views the individual, to use Bacon's phrase, 'ad naturam universi.' As a commentator he does not overlay the difficulty with a crushing load of collateral illustration, but elucidates it with the one apposite citation. A large class of stumblingblocks in the classics can only be cleared by finding some one other passage, which supplies the key to the allusion. This is a gradual process, which is being perfected from age to age*. The school commentary of our day contains the result of four centuries of research. What one has overlooked another supplies. In the whole long history of interpretation, can anyone be named, who from his single hand has contributed to the common fund so much as Isaac Casaubon?

Casaubon's editions must not be compared with those which issued from the great dutch manufactory of the Burmanns and the Gronoviuses. The 'Variorum' editors were collectors of what others had suggested. Casaubon draws at first hand from his own original comparison of texts. The system of those editors was to form a 'Catena,' or running commentary on a text, by breaking up the existing commentaries into

* See note F in Appendix.

short portions, preserving the words, and appending the name of each annotator. It was thus that Casaubon's notes, all of which were written before 1610, were passed on, intact, to the middle of the 18th century, and formed indeed the substantial part of all that the 'Variorum' editors had to offer on many authors. The dutch editors shunned greek, to which they were unequal, or they only attempted it to give evidence that greek was a lost science. The Appianus of Tollius, 1670, the Apollonius of Hoelzlin, 1641,—'hominum, qui sunt, fuerunt, et erunt futilissimus'—says Ruhnken[34], the Lucianus of Grævius, 1687, should be examined if we wish to know how low greek had sunk in the schools of Holland and what was the standard of editing in the bookmarket of Europe. If Maasvicius was able to make a better figure with his Polyænus, 1690, it is because he judiciously retires himself out of sight, and blazons on his title page, 'Isaaci Casauboni notas adjecit.' The trade demand for the editions of the greek classics, was met by reproducing the notes of the scholars of the 16th century. Even a new latin version of a greek text was a task to which they were unequal. So Maasvicius reproduces the latin Polyænus of Vulteius, 1549, without alteration, and even without, as he honestly confesses[35], comparing it with his greek text throughout, with which it by no means corresponds. The dutch school, till Hemsterhusius, was a school of latinists. Yet, even in a latin prose author, such as Suetonius, it would not have been safe for the workmen of the Burmann manufactory to have revised Casaubon's notes, and they were accordingly reproduced in extenso down to 1736. After this they sank out of sight, the german school of

[34] Ep. ad Valcken. p. 18.

[35] Polyænus, 1588, lectori: 'Cum græcis ubique non comparavi.'

Ernesti and Wolf having power enough of its own to remodel annotation on Suetonius. Even in 1801, the german Schweighæuser, who ventured upon Athenæus, found that he could not do better than give the whole of Casaubon's notes. And, to this hour, no one has attempted (1874) such a commentary on Athenæus, as shall merge Casaubon in the way in which his notes on Persius have been absorbed in the Clarendon Persius of Conington and Nettleship. As lately as 1833, Casaubon's notes on Persius were reprinted in Germany entire, in compliance with a suggestion of Passow [36]. His commentary on Strabo, of which he was himself ashamed, has not been superseded, and was reprinted in 1818, in the Variorum ed. of Tzschucke [37]. The commentaries on Athenæus and Theophrastus must still be in the hands of every student of greek literature.

No other scholar of the sixteenth century can be named, whose commentary on any ancient writer has remained so long as the standard commentary. All have contributed something to the common stock of explanation; no other than Casaubon has left one which stands in its entirety unsurpassed. When we consider that, in the elucidation of an ancient text, time is more than genius, and a new MS. more than the keenest faculty of divination, we shall appreciate Casaubon's superiority over his successors, in his command of the means and materials of interpretation.

It was not only by industrious compilation, and the relevant application of a complete classical reading, that Casaubon's commentary is thus distinguished. He

[36] Persius, ed. F. Duebner, lectori: 'Ante hos viginti tres annos celeb. Passovius significaverat . . . Casaubonum edendum esse integrum, reliquos excerpendos esse omnes.'

[37] The publication of the edition was broken off at the third book.

has also the enviable gift of presenting the object as it is (Veranschaulichung). This was due not to the possession of a poetic imagination, but to its absence. He lights the object with no subjective radiance, and decorates it with no ornament. His style as an annotator, flat and prosaic as it is, is direct. He grasps at the real difficulties, and tries to clear them in the shortest way. He had the inestimable advantage, denied to us, of not acquiring his first conception at second hand. *We* read so much about the ancients, in books written about them by moderns, that our notion of antiquity is inevitably coloured by this modern medium.

We have learnt to prefer to have our ancient history drugged with modern politics, by Droysen, or Grote, or Mommsen, as the vitiated taste prefers sherry to the pure juice of the grape. Casaubon owed this advantage in part to his self-education, of which he was always complaining as a blight upon his development[38]. He lost something by this, in point of language, he gained much by it, in point of precision of representation. He went in his nineteenth year straight to the greek and latin authors, and read them through, thus forming his first impressions of the ancients directly from what they have said of themselves. It cost him more trouble to learn, but then he had nothing to unlearn. As Goethe somewhere says, 'The difficulty lies not in learning but in unlearning,' a sentiment which Casaubon himself had quoted[39] from an older author than Goethe. Menage[40] gave as a reason for not

[38] Ep. 995: '*ὀψιμαθεῖς καὶ ὀλίγου δέω εἰπεῖν αὐτοδίδακτοι.*'

[39] Exercitt. in Baron. p. 485: '*τὸ μεταδιδάσκειν χαλεπώτατον* ait alicubi Chrysostomus.'

[40] Menagiana, 1. 84.

reading Moreri's Dictionary, that it contained errors, and if he got them into his head, he should not be able to get them out again.

This habit of direct intuition he owed to his self-education; his love of truth he owed to his protestant education. Love of truth is the foundation of all research and all learning, and is indeed only the desire of knowledge under another name. This mental habit is, it may be thought, universally diffused among mankind. Upon it are founded all the ordinary transactions of every day life, no less than the judicial procedure of the law courts, and the experiments of the laboratory. Why should it be singled out as a merit in Casaubon, when it is only shared by him in common with every humbler student who has ever attempted philological research? Those only who are intimately conversant with the period of which we write, will know that of that period this assumption would not be true. It was by the cultivation of this intellectual virtue that the protestant scholars of France were distinguished, and to which they owe their immeasurable superiority over the catholic school of french Hellenists.

The attitude of the orthodox party towards classical studies in the first half of the sixteenth century—in the time of Erasmus—was one of pure antipathy. This phase of hostility to the 'new learning,' under pretence of reverence for the old, has been handed down to us by the broad and exaggerated satire of the 'Epistolæ obscurorum virorum.' We have seen the traces of this disposition lingering into the seventeenth century in Eudæmon-Joannes' sneers at Casaubon for not having had a regular education, for being a 'grammarian,' and more conversant with Suetonius than with

logic. But notwithstanding occasional sallies of this kind, the attitude of the church party towards classical learning had been entirely changed before 1600. The practised eye of the jesuits, surveying, from the centre of politics, all walks of human endeavour, saw that more capital could be made for Rome by espousing classics, than by prohibiting them. Jesuit education was formed upon a classical basis, in opposition to the scholastic basis of the university. Grammar and rhetoric became leading subjects in their schools, including a large share of greek. More than this, jesuits who had a turn for reading were allowed to devote themselves to study, and encouraged and assisted in the publication of learned works. 'Learned' they are entitled to be called by courtesy, for the works of Schott, Sirmond, and Petavius, have all the attributes of learning but one,—one, to want which leaves all learning but a tinkling cymbal—that is, the love of truth. The jesuit scholars introduced into philological research the temper of unveracity which had been from of old the literary habit of their church. An interested motive lurks beneath each word; the motive of church patriotism. The same spirit which produced the false decretals in the seventh century[41], reappears in the jesuit literature of the sixteenth century. 'Can we doubt,' exclaims Casaubon[42], 'that the disease of our age is a hatred of truth?' An earnest love of truth, on the other hand, is the characteristic

[41] Du Perron repeatedly told Casaubon that 'Gratianus was unjustly suspected, there being at most two places doubtful.' Adversaria, ap. Wolf. p. 177: 'Audivi Perronum sæpe mihi affirmantem falso suspectam esse fidem Gratiani,' etc.

[42] Burmann, Syll. 1. 359: 'Dubitamus adhuc μισαληθείᾳ laborare hoc seculum.'

of the philological effort of the protestant scholars. Errors they make, and plenty. The books of the generation which followed Casaubon are largely seasoned with corrections of his errata[43]. It may often happen that Scaliger is wrong, and Petavius right. But single-eyed devotion to truth is an intellectual quality, the absence of which is fatal to the value of any investigation. Jesuit learning is a sham learning got up with great ingenuity in imitation of the genuine, in the service of the church. It is related of the Chinese that when they first, in the war of 1841, saw the effect of our steam vessels, they set up a funnel and made a smoke with straw on the deck of one of their junks in imitation, while the paddles were turned by men below. Such a mimicry of the philology of Scaliger and Casaubon was the philology of the jesuit. It was vitiated by its arrière-pensée. The search of truth was falsified by its interested motive, the interest not of an individual, but of a party. It was that caricature of the good and great and true, which the good and great and true invariably calls into being[44]; a phantom which sidles up against the reality, mouths its favourite words as a third-rate actor does a great part, undermimics its wisdom, overacts its folly, is by half the world taken for it, goes some way to suppress it in its own time, and lives for it in history.

That Casaubon's conception of the antique world was

[43] E.g. Crenius, Animadv. phil. et hist. p. 88. Casaubon had affirmed, N. T. Matth. 23. 15, that Judas Iscariot is called, in another place, *υἱὸς ὀλέθρου*. The phrase is never used in the N. T.; it occurs in Nonnus' paraphrase of John 17. 12. Henri Valois, both in the 'Excerpta ex collectaneis,' 1634, and in the 'Emendationum libri,' 1740, abounds in such corrections.

[44] Friends in Council, 1. 67.

either pure or adequate, is not hereby meant. It was very far from being either. With all his honesty of purpose, and directness of aim, he was not strong enough to be uninfluenced by the ecclesiastical temper of his age. We see this in so slight a matter as the interpretation of the Triopian inscription, discovered in 1607 [45], which, in his anxiety to get a confirmation of gospel history, he applied to the Jewish Herod, instead of to Herodes Atticus.

His limitations were many and inevitable. As an interpreter of ancient life he could only render so much as he apprehended. No one can apprehend of a past age more than he can apprehend of his own. [46] 'The past is reflected to us by the present.' Casaubon knew of his own age so much as the average of educated men know. The private antiquities of Greece and

[45] See his 'Inscriptio vetus græca,' etc. fol. s. l. et a. Velser, a catholic, at once detected Casaubon's error, and informed Hoeschel of it. Burney MSS. 364. p. 288. Hoeschel passed on the correction to Casaubon, who instantly acknowledged it, and promised to correct it, if he should have the opportunity of a second edition. Ep. 607. What Casaubon did not do, Saumaise did, in his 'Inscriptio Herodis.' Crenius, 'Museum philologicum,' Lugd. Bat. 1699, reprinted both commentaries, thus reproducing error which had been abandoned by its author. See Thesaurus epistolicus La Crozianus, 3. 40. On the other hand, Casaubon was not deceived, as many Italians were, by the inscriptions in Poliphilo. See Hist. Aug. Scriptores.

[46] Arnold, Lectures, p. 109: 'This is the reason why scholars and antiquarians have written so uninstructively of the ancient world. They could do no otherwise, for they did not understand the world around them. How can he comprehend the parties of other days, who has no clear notion of those of his own? What sense can he have of the progress of the great contest of human affairs in its earlier stages, when it rages around him at this actual moment unnoticed, or felt to be no more than a mere indistinct hubbub of sounds, and confusion of weapons? What cause is in the issue he knows not.'

Rome are, for this reason, open to all men, for every man 'must have a full conception of the coat he wears, and the house he lives in.' In public affairs, Casaubon apprehends the general machinery of political action, as it shows itself on the surface of events, and takes an average view of the springs of human action. The man, with whom Henri IV. could hold long conversations on the position of religious parties in France, cannot have been an uninformed looker on at the great struggles of the time. The greater political problems he does not approach. Polybius' philosophy of history is Casaubon's philosophy. Though he had edited Aristotle, and read many of the Aristotelian books with care [47], he has written nothing which throws any light on the course of greek thought. He was not master of the contents of greek philosophical speculation, nor even aware of its importance as a factor of history, or of the place it holds in greek literature.

Here, again, the limitation was not in the man, but in the age. It needed two centuries more of speculative effort in Europe, before philologians could go back to greek philosophy with the key of it in their hands. It is only indeed within the present century that learning has grown strong enough to cope with the exposition of Aristotle, and an edition of the Aristotelic encyclopædia is still a vision of the future*.

And as to Casaubon's want of political instruction, it should be remembered that *we* go to greek history with three centuries of additional experience. In 1614, de

[47] Adversaria, tom. 16, contains collections out of Aristotle and his greek commentators. In Brit. Mus. is an analysis of the 'Analytics,' in Casaubon's hand, such as might be made by a person reading the book for the first time.

* See note G in Appendix.

Thou's History was the last word of political wisdom, and de Thou's life had been spent in one uniform struggle — resistance to the clerical reaction. This situation produced a simplicity, and at the same time a narrowness, in the political ideas of the age. All the energies of the statesman, all the wisdom of the politician, were absorbed in the effort to stem the rising tide of ecclesiastical invasion. We cannot wonder that Casaubon too should not have seen beyond the emergency. But as he became gradually engaged with the details of the controversy, he became less able as an interpreter of the document. His greatest failure was in handling church antiquity, because he was searching it as an armoury of consecrated precedent, not with the analysis of the critical historian. His love of truth, though it did not forsake him, was obscured by the zeal of the partisan. The cause may have been a righteous one; the war of resistance to clerical aggression may have been a just and necessary war. The publicist, the legist, the statesman who, at the opening of the 17th century, contended against the church revival of their day, have a title to be enrolled in the list of worthies or benefactors. But for all this, it remains true, that in the intellectual sphere grasp and mastery are incompatible with the exigencies of a struggle. When, in the very conception of the problem, the intellectual activity is engaged in the service of a religious interest, a scientific solution cannot be looked for[48]. To search antiquity with a polemical object is

[48] Zeller, Gesch. d. griech. Philos. 4. 17: 'Wenn schon durch die Fassung der Aufgabe die wissenschaftliche Thätigkeit in den Dienst des religiösen Interesses gezogen war, so musste es sich im weiteren Verlaufe vollends herausstellen, dass eine wissenschaftliche Lösung desselben unter den gegebenen Voraussetzungen unmöglich sei.'

destructive of that equilibrium of the reason, the imagination, and the taste, that even temper of philosophical calm, that singleness of purpose, which are required in order that a past time may mirror itself on the mind in true outline and proportions.

APPENDIX TO 10.

NOTE A. p. 471.

Casaubon's Will, dated June 21, 1614.

TRANSLATED OUT OF FRENCHE.

THERE being nothinge more certaine to man then death and nothinge more incertaine then then the houre thereof and desyringe to provide that death surprise mee not before I make my latter Will havinge as yet by the mercie of God the use of all my senses and of my reason understandinge and judgement I have thought it necessary shortly to declare myne estate and latter Will as it followes I doe confesse and protest that I liue and dye in that true and liuely fayth whereby the just man liues which is taught us in Holy Scripture And that I belieue ye remission of all my sinnes by the sheddinge of the moste pretious bloode of myne onely Savior Mediator and Advocate Jesus Christ in whose hands I doe giue over and comend myself beseechinge him that he would sanctifie me throughlie and keepe my whole spirit soule and bodie wthout blemish vnto his last cominge I leaue my body to be buried in the ground in a Christian manner wthout all vnnecessarie pompe or shewe to be made partaker of the blessed resurrection at the latter daye wch I doe expect and belieue wth a stedfast fayth As for my goods wch the Lorde hath lent me wch I shall leaue the day of my decease my will is that my debtes which shalbe founde lawfull shalbee payd Therefter I give to the French Church assembled in London five and twenty French Crownes And to the poors of this parish where I dwell five French Crownes To the Library of the French Church in London fowre of my greatest books amonge the fathers And my Gregory Nyssen Manuscript To my Nephewe Mr Chabane one of my Hippocrates As concerninge all my goodes whatsoever present or to come moueable or vnmoueable I doe appointe that my wyfe have it in her choyce either to take herself to her contract of marriage wherein is to be fownde whatsoever I haue received before, and since the death of her father Henry Steuen of happie memory or to take herself to the just halfe of all my goodes

which shall remaine behinde that beinge exempted whereof mention was made before As for the other halfe w^ch^ shall remaine I will not that my sonne John Cassaubon haue any parte thereof but onlye one Cup of the value of Thirty Crownes the reasons of this my Will are knowne unto him Item I will and ordayne that each one of my daughters haue two hundred crownes w^ch^ being done my meaninge is that the whole remnant bee equally divided amonge my sonnes and daughters except that to that sonne who walkinge in the feare of God shalbe fittest to sustayne my family I doe giue the Cup of M^r^ Scaliger of moste happie memory aboue and besides that portion which shall fall to him of the foresayd half or remnant of my goodes the Cup of thirtie Crownes for my sonne John and the two hundred crownes for each one of my daughters beinge first abated Neverthelesse if any of my children sonne or daughter presume to fynde fault w^th^ or call in question this my last Will or be disobeydient to my wife their mother I leaue to my wife all power and authority to depriue such a one of soe muche of their porcion as she shall thinke good being therevnto well counselled and approved by the Overseers of this my Testament that shalbe there where she for the tyme shall remaine Moreover if it please God to call to himselfe one or more of my children before they be married or come to age I will that their portion be divided amonge the rest that doe survive by equall portions my sonne John excepted And to the intent that this my Testament may be put in execution I leaue and ordayne my wife the onely Executrix thereof intreatinge my trusty freinds M^r^ Theodore Turquet de Maierne Raphaell Torris and Phillippe Bourlamarqui to ayde her as Curators in those things which be on this side of the Sea And my trusty frends M^r^ Josias Mercere Sq^r^ des Bordes Desier Herauet Advocate and M^r^ Arbant Doctor of Phisick for those affaires that be beyond Seas In witnesse whereof and of that w^ch^ is before set downe I haue subsigned w^th^ my hand and sealed w^th^ my seale this my latter Will in presence of them that be after named this Tewsday the one and twentieth of June the yeare of o^r^ Lorde one thousand sixe hundred and fowerteene—Isaack Cassaubon—Signed sealed and delivered in the presence of us—Aron Cappell David Codelongue—William Jane—et me—Thomam Elam Scrivener.

PROBATUM fuit Testamentum suprascriptum apud London coram Magro Edmundo Pope legum Doctore Surrogato Venerabilis viri Dñj Johñis Benet milits legum etiam Doctors Curie Prerogative Cant

Magrj Custodis sive Commissarij ltime constitut Tricesimo die Mensis Julij Ano Dominj Millesimo sexcentesimo Decimo quarto Juramento Florentiæ Cassaubon relae dictj defuncti et executrics in eodem testamento nominat Cuj comissa fuit administracō omniū et singulor bonore jurium et creditorum dictj defunctj De bene et fideliter administrand eadem Ad sancta Dej Evangelia in debita juris forma jurat.

NOTE B. p. 477.

The History of Isaac Casaubon's Papers.

For the transcript of the following letter, and remarks upon it, I am indebted to M. Charles Thurot, through the mediation of Mr. Thursfield, of Jesus College.

Bibl. Nat. fonds Moreau, t. 846. fo. 56.

Clariss. doctissimoque viro, Dño Philiberto De la mare, Mericus Casaubonus, Is. F. S. P. D. Quod quaeris, vir clarissime, an Jacobi Guiionj, rerum apud Æduos capitalium quaesitoris, aliquid seu prosâ, seu versu scriptum, inter cimelia b. m. parentis repertum servem, in promptu responsio, simplex, aperta, brevis, quae veritati conveniat, quae conscientiae meae, cuius praecipua apud me semper erit ratio, abundè satisfaciat; Non habeo. Sed quia dum tenorem tuarum literarum attentiùs considero, vix spero me tam accuratae scriptioni nisi accuratâ responsione satisfacturum, dabo hoc communibus studiis (quae si non semper, alia professus, excolui, nunquam tamen non sanctè colui:) tuoque de literis bene merendi studio, quòd pluribus, ut de propriâ non tantum conscientiâ, sed et tua opinione sollicitus, respondeam. Narro igitur tibi, vir doctissime, patre in Anglia defuncto, omnia eius Adversaria, et mta. cuiuscunque generis, (paucis quibusdam Theologicis exceptis, quae Regis Seren. iussu, Lanceloto Andreae, summo viro, Episcopo tum Eliensi, sunt in manus tradita:) Lutetiam translata esse, ubi cum per aliquot annos in custodia piae matris, aut quibus mater commiteret, (*ou* commiseret,) fuissent, tandem in manus fratris natu maioris (qui postea Capuchinum professus obiit) pervenisse. Illum pro arbitrio de quibusdam disposuisse, et non uni gratificatum esse, certò scio. Quinto demum vel sexto post obitum patris anno, cùm ille meus charissimus frater mundo curisque saecularibus renuntiasset, et ego ad aliquam maturitatem pervenissem (ut qui annum tum agerem nonum supra decimum) quod erat reliquorum

mstorum. (nam libri edit. paucissimi supererant) matre ita statuente, et fratre non nolente, mihi cessit. Quare an pater olim aliquid tale, quale conjicis et requiris, habuerit, meum non est pronuntiare. Sed quò magis tibi liqueat, me certe tale nihil aut habere aut habuisse, amplius te moneo, quicquid erat Patris in isto genere, postquam ope amicorum adiutus et quantâ maximâ potui sedulitate usus conquisivissem, mihique comparassem, id omne in accuratissimum syllabum redegi, qui quid quisque liber contineret, (ne sparsis et solutis quidem chartulis omissis) indicaret. Eum postea syllabum haud paucis pro re natâ, communicavi, nec defuere qui exempla eius à me postularent, et obtinerent. Praeterea, quicunque me (quod non pauci fecerunt,) viri docti seu Galli, seu Belgae, aliive in transcursu Cantuariam praetereuntes inviserunt, eis ego omnem librariam suppellectilem liberè prompsi, non ut auferrent quicquam, sed ut viderent quod vellent, et praesentes, pro sui quisque otii et negotii ratione, legerent. Omnium istorum, ubicunque sunt, fidem appello, an quicquam Jacobi Guiioni, vel in syllabo, vel inter ipsa cimelia repererint. At, inquis, Guiionio arctissima cum parente meo consuetudo intercedebat. Pace tua dixerim, vir clarissime, hoc tibi gratis credam necesse est. Epistolarum patris ad diversos magnum volumen nuper prodiit Amstelodami; inter illas, nulla ad Jac. Guiionium comparet. Praeter editas, habeo alias non paucas; sed nec inter illas, ulla. Praeterea, cum doctorum ex omni, quàm late patet eruditio, Europâ, ad patrem Epistolas plurimas habeam, ne inter illas quidem ulla Guiionii ad patrem; quare etiam atque etiam te rogo ut huius familiaritatis argumenta quae tibi sint amplius expendas. Quod si ita res habet, neque falsus es; mihi tamen, quaeso, ne imputa, si expectatione tua frustratus es. Haec si tibi satisfaciunt, valdè gaudeo, sin aliter, superest ut in propriae conscientiae testimonio, et in officij non neglecti (responsionem intelligo quàm potui accuratiss.) conscientiâ acquiescam. Vale, vir clarissime, et meliores literas operâ tuâ et eruditione promovere perge. Cantuariae, postrid. Non. Decemb. (stylo Anglic. seu veteri.) CIↃ IↃ CXLI.

L'adresse de la lettre, qui porte encore le cachet en cire rouge[1], est ainsi conçue :—

Clariss. doctissimoque viro, Philiberto De la Mare, in supremo Burgundiae senatu, comitiario.

Divione.

[1] Ce cachet représente un lion avec une barre en abime chargée de trois étoiles. Le fond n'est pas indiqué.

J'ai reproduit exactement l'orthographe et la ponctuation. L'écriture est très bonne. Il y a des inégalités, ainsi il n'y a pas de point sur le second *i* de Guiionius d'abord; ensuite il est mis. J'ai reproduit cette inégalité.

Un mot seul me laisse des doutes. Voici le passage exactement reproduit

aut quibus Mater commiseret

cum a été d'abord écrit, puis barré et remplacé par *com* (ainsi que c'est indiqué ici). Dans ce qui suit aucune lettre ne peut faire de doute excepté celle qui est entre l'*e* et l'*i*, ni l'*s* ni le *t*, ni font faits de cette façon dans le reste de la lettre. D'ailleurs *commiteret* est une faute d'orthographe, et *commiseret* n'a pas de sens. Peut-être a-t-il vouler écrire *commiserit*. Du reste, l'en tête de la lettre, l'adresse, la date, et les corrections faites dans le corps même de la lettre sont d'une autre main, probablement de la main de Casaubon lui meme qui aura fait écrire la lettre par un copiste.

Note C. p. 483.

Goethe to Zelter, Briefwechsel, 6. 616: 'Eigentlich ist es nicht mein Bestreben, in den düstern Regionen der Geschichte bis auf einen gewissen Grad deutlicher zu sehn; aber um des Mannes willen, nach dem ich sein Verfahren, seine Absichten, seine Studien erkannte, wurden seine Interessen auch die meinigen. *Niebuhr* war es eigentlich, und nicht die römische Geschichte, was mich beschäftigte. So eines Mannes tiefer Sinn und emsige Weise ist eige tlich das was uns auferbaut. Die sämmtlichen Ackergesetze gehn mich eigentlich gar nichts an, aber die Art, wie er sie aufklärt, wie er mir die complicirten Verhältnisse deutlich macht, das ist's was mich fördert, was mir die Pflicht auferlegt, in den Geschäften, die ich übernehme, auf gleiche gewissenhafte Weise zu verfahren.'

Note D. p. 498.

The Cambridge miracle was reported to Casaubon by James Martin, whose letter has not been preserved. But the substance of it is repeated by Martin, in a letter to Camden, without date, but probably 1615. It is printed in Camdeni Epistolæ, 1691. I give an extract:—

'All the particulars of my letter to him (Casaubon) I cannot

recount. The sum is this. In Cambridgeshire, about twelve years since, there hapning a great fire in Gambinga, a little child being left in the cradle, was uery strangely conveyed out of the house being all in a flame, into the middle of the street; the linnen-apron being all powdered with crosses; an unknown boy telling the maid, that wept and thought the child was burnt, to this effect, viz. I have thought on the child, and have delivered it, but go and look for it. Now about a year or two before this accident, there was seen over the house in the night a shining cross in the air, and since that time for these twelve or thirteen years together, there have at divers times fallen divers crosses upon the linnen of the mother and sisters of this child, now deceased, which sometimes vanish of themselves, and sometimes are washed away. Some of these myself have seen; they are of a brownish colour, and of this form ✠ . . . This being the principal though other accessaries there are, which partly of my own knowledge, and partly on the relation of others . . . I related to Mr. Casaubone, I make bold to impart to yourself, wishing, if it might be, that we might come to some certain resolution whence the crosses are, and whether they would.'

As Casaubon is selected to have this tale, not then recent, written to him by one who was a stranger to him, we may infer that his curiosity for marvels was matter of notoriety. His reply is cautious:—

'I received lately two letters from you. The first transformed me wholly into wonder: without doubt the thing you write of is miraculous; but whence, I cannot affirme. They may best conjecture that were eye witnesses, or of their neerest acquaintance, and they that have the spirit of discerning. In which regard I leave the discussing thereof to the most excellent divines of your illustrious university,' (i. e. Oxford.)

NOTE E. p. 514.

Casaubon's principles of emendation are fully stated in his Præf. in Athenæum: 'Cum emendandi veteres auctores duplex sit via, e libris, et ex ingenio, utramque nos viam in corrigendo Athenæo instituimus. . . . Priore illa opera vulgatas editiones e veteribus libris auximus et emendavimus; posteriore hac et vulgatorum et manu etiam scriptorum codicum lectionem ad rectæ rationis obrussam exegimus. Nam in scriptis exemplaribus vel antiquissimæ manus πολλὰ μὲν ἐσθλὰ πολλὰ δὲ λυγρά. Itaque in illis tractandis judicio magno opus, magna eruditione,

nec mediocri usu.' He then refers those who think that antiquity, and consent of MSS, alone must determine the reading, to the well-known passage of Galen. If at other times Casaubon expresses himself as fearful to alter without MS. authority, it is from a dread of that reckless spirit of alteration, which leads the rash and inexperienced to tamper with every passage which presents difficulty, e. g. Cas. Advers. tom. 60: 'Hæc lectio non placet, placeret Juniana si esset ex libris.' Ibid.: 'Sequentia sine libris non ausim attingere.' This caution is no less in the spirit of Cobet, cf. Variæ Lectt. p. xii: 'Tertium est vitii genus, in quod sæpe juniores implicari video, qui locum vitiosum nacti, levibus et temerariis correctiunculis vexare malunt, quam intactum relinquere, et sæpe vitiosis vitiosiora substituunt.'

The passage of Ritschl's Opuscula referred to in the text, p. 514, is as follows, 1. 539: 'Propemodum nullus liber est ullius scriptoris, e quo non aliquando, quanquam rarissimis plerumque exemplis, bona scriptura peti possit, non majorem fidem quam probabilis conjecturæ habens.'

NOTE F. p. 515.

On the slow process by which the full sense of an ancient classic is reached, and a commentary is perfected, Reiske says, Theocritus, Viennæ 1765, præf. p. 37: 'Stupet animus meus et pæne cohorrescit, cum cogitat post tantam, tot hominum, navorum hercle atque doctorum, contentionem, post tot annorum decursum, in hoc uno tam parum voluminoso, tam levi, qui videatur quibusdam, nugacique poeta (i. e. Theocritus) multum tamen nos adhucdum a perfectione abesse, quæ ei impertiri possit. Sed hoc iter naturæ est. Sensim et pedetentim, per gradus minutos, ad culmen arcis ascenditur.'

NOTE G. p. 523.

The magnitude of what he undertakes, who aims to be a classical scholar, was understood at least as early as Erasmus. Vita Orig. Erasmi Opp. 8. 426: 'Si quis dicat grammatices professionem nihil habere memorabile, cum hodie scholasticorum collegia pueris abundent grammaticam profitentibus, sciat olim senile et arduum fuisse negotium. Nec enim a doctore expectabatur declinationum, conjugationum

et constructionum ratio; sed præter sermonis elegantiam, præter plurimorum auctorum lectionem, præter antiquitatis, et omnium historiarum notitiam requirebatur poetices, rhetorices, dialectices, arithmetices et cosmographiæ musicesque cognitio. Minore negotio tres Juris doctores absolveris quam unum grammaticum, qualis fuit Aristarchus apud Græcos, apud Latinos Servius et Donatus.'

NOTE.

Some explanation may be called for of the mode of writing proper names adopted in these pages. It may be objected to the author that he ought to have adhered to one or the other nomenclature, i. e. either the latinised or the vernacular form. Upon trial, however, this was found to be impossible. Some names being of more frequent occurrence than others, have so established themselves in the latinised form, that it is now impossible to depart from it. We must write Scaliger Beza, Grotius, Lipsius, Vulcanius, Scriverius, Canisius, and cannot without affectation substitute de L'escale, de Bèze, van Groot, Lips, Smidt, Schryver, de Hondt. On the other hand, wherever usage seemed sufficient to warrant me, I have chosen the vernacular name. I have said Estienne, and not Stephanus (except when speaking of the 'Thesaurus'), Saumaise, and not Salmasius, de Thou, and not Thuanus, Labbé, and not Labbæus.

Though I have said Fra Paolo, and not Father Paul, I have written Bellarmine and not Bellarmino. This practice is quite indefensible on any ground of principle. The only object of this note is to show that these anomalies are not errors of carelessness.

11.

CHRONOLOGICAL LIST OF WORKS BY ISAAC CASAUBON.

1583.

Isaaci Hortiboni Notæ ad Diogenis Laertii libros de vitis dictis et decretis principum philosophorum. Morgiis, venundantur in officina typographica Joannis le Preux, Illust. D. Bern. Typog. 1583, 12mo.

1584.

Vetustissimorum authorum Georgica, Bucolica, et Gnomica poemata quæ supersunt, accessit huic editioni Is. Hortiboni Theocriticarum lectionum libellus . . . παρὰ E. Ουιγνωνι ϙ φ′ π δ. 12mo.

Casaubon had no hand in this book beyond contributing the 'lectiones Theocriticæ,' pp. 361–410.

1587.

1. Strabonis rerum geographicarum Libri xvii, Isaacus Casaubonus recensuit, summoque studio et diligentia, ope etiam veterum codicum emendavit, ac commentariis illustravit (s. l.), excudebat Eustathius Vignon, Atrebat. 1587, fol.

2. Novi Testamenti Libri omnes recens nunc editi cum notis Isaaci Casauboni. Adjectæ sunt variæ lectiones omnes; cum diligenti similium locorum collatione . . (s.l.), apud Eustathium Vignon, 1587, 12mo.

With ded. by I. Casaubon to Canaye de Fresne.

1588.

Isaaci Casauboni animadversiones in Dionysii Halicarnassei antiquitatum romanarum libros. (s.a. et l.), fol.

Is. Casaubon 'to reader' is dated 'nonis augusti, 1588.'

1589.

1. ΠΟΛΥΑΙΝΟΥ ΣΤΡΑΤΗΓΗΜΑΤΩΝ ΒΙΒΛΟΙ ΟΚΤΩ. Polyæni stratagematum libri octo. Is. Casaubonus græce nunc primum edidit, emendavit, et notis illustravit, adjecta est etiam Justi Vulteii latina versio, cum indicibus necessariis, 1589, apud Jean. Tornaesium, Typ. Reg. Lugdunensem, 12mo.

2. In Dicæarchi eclogen notæ Isaaci Casauboni. (7 pages, not numbered, following p. 128 of) Dicæarchi Geographica quædam . . . cum lat. interpretatione atque annot. Henri Stephani, excudebat Henr. Stephanus, 1589, 12mo.

1590.

Operum Aristotelis Stagiritæ philosophorum omnium longe principis nova editio, græce et latine, græcus contextus quam emendatissime præter omnes omnium editionum est editus; adscriptis ad oram libri et interpretum veterum recentiorumque et aliorum doctorum virorum emendationibus: in quibus plurimæ nunc primum in lucem prodeunt, ex bibliotheca Isaaci Casauboni . . . (oliva Stephani), Lugduni, apud Guillelmum Læmarium, 1590, fol., 2 voll.

1591.

C. Plinii Cæc. Sec. Epist. Lib. ix. ejusdem et Trajani epist. amœbææ. ejusdem Pl. et Pacati, Mamertini, Nazarii Panegyrici, item Claudiani Panegyrici, præter multos locos in hac posteriori editione emendatos, adjunctæ sunt Isaaci Casauboni notæ in epistolas, excud. Henr. Steph., anno 1591.

With this book, which is a reprint of Henri Estienne's Plinius of 1581, Casaubon had nothing to do, beyond supplying a few corrections and explanations. These are printed at the end of the volume, occupying 15 leaves, unpaged.

1592.

Theophrastus, Characteres ethici, sive descriptiones morum græce. Is. Casaubonus recensuit, in latinum sermonem vertit, et libro commentario illustravit, Lugduni, apud Franciscum Le Preux, 1592, 8vo.

1593.

Diogenes Laertius, De vitis dogm. et apophth. clarorum philosophorum libri x. Hesychii ill. de iisdem philos. et de aliis scriptoribus liber. Pythagor. philosophorum fragmenta, omnia græce et lat. ex editione ii. Is. Casauboni notæ ad lib. Diogenis multo auctiores et emendationes, excud. Henr. Steph., anno 1593, (oliva Stephani), (other copies, 1594,) 12mo.

1595.

Suetonius, De xii Caesaribus Libri viii. Is. Casaubonus recensuit et animadv. libros adjecit . . . ap. Ja. Chouet, 1595, 4to.

1596.

Theocritus, Idyllia et epigrammata, cum mss. Palat. collata . . . Is. Casauboni Theocriticarum lectionum libellus, editio altera uberior et melior, ex typographeo Hier. Commelini, 1596, 12mo.

1597.

Athenæus, Deipnosophistarum libri xv. cura et studio Isaaci Casauboni, bibliothecæ Palatinæ, Vaticanæ, aliarumque ope auctiores emendatioresque editi . . . apud Hieronymum Commelinum, anno 1597, fol.

1600.

Athenæus, Isaaci Casauboni animadversionum in Athenæi Deipnosophistas Libri xv. . . . Lugduni, ap. Ant. de Harsy, 1600, fol.

1601.

Coppie d'une lettre de M. Isaac Casaubon au synode à Gergeau, avec la réponse du dict synode, Gen. 1601, 12mo.

See p. 187 and note.

1603.

Historiæ Augustæ scriptores vi. . . . Is. Casaubonus ex veter. libr. recensuit idemque librum adjecit emendationum ac notarum, Paris, Drouart, 1603, 4to.

1604.

Dio Chrysostomus, Orationes lxxx. . . . Fed. Morelli, Prof. regii opera, cum Is. Casauboni Diatriba et ejusdem Morelli scholiis, Lutet. 1604, fol.

With this ed. Casaubon had nothing to do beyond contributing the Diatriba, which occupies pp. 1–106, separately paged, at end.

Burmann, Sylloge, 1. 359, 'rogatu Morelli nostri Diatribam in D. C. edimus opus *αὐτοσχέδιον* nec magnæ rei.'

1605.

1. Persius, Satirarum liber. Is. Casaubonus recensuit et commentario libro illustravit, Paris, Drouart, 1605, 12mo.

2. De satyrica Græcorum poesi et Romanorum satira libri duo, Paris, Drouart, 1605, 12mo.

1605.

Notæ in Gregorii Thaumaturgi orationem. Meric, Pietas, p. 101, did not know where these notes were to be found. They occupy pp. 497–506 of

Origenes contra Celsum Libri viii, a D. Hoeschelio, Aug. Vindel. 1605, 4to.

Of these Casaubon says, 'Paucas hodie impendi horas lectioni chartarum quas ante triduum abs te accepi; quæ percurrenti mihi orationes in mentem venerunt paucis accipe et boni consule.'

1606.

Gregorius Nyssen, Ad Eustathiam Ambrosiam et Basilissam epistola. Is. Casaubonus nunc primum publicavit, latine vertit et illustravit notis (oliva Stephani), Lutetiæ, ex typographia Roberti Stephani, 1606, 12mo.

1607.

1. De libertate ecclesiastica liber singularis.

Printed at Paris in this year, but suppressed, by order of the government, before publication. First published in Melchior Goldasti, Monarchia S. Romani imperii, Hanov. 1612, vol. 1. pp. 674–716.

It was translated into English by Hilkiah Bedford, a translation which was inserted in Hickes' 'Two Treatises of the christian priesthood, &c., Lond. 1711,' pp. cxv–ccxciii.

2. Inscriptio vetus Græca, nuper ad urbem in via Appia effossa : dedicationem fundi continens ab Herode rege factam. Isaacus Casaubonus recensuit et notis illustravit, fol. pp. 10, s. l. et a.

This sheet of 10 pp. is undated. Casaubon says the copy of the inscription had been sent 'nuper' by Christophe Dupuy to Jacques Gillot, and he quotes Scaliger's Eusebius as published 'nuper.' The Eusebius came out in August, 1606. A copy of the 'Inscriptio' by Casaubon had been sent to Hoeschel before September, 1607. See Ep. 568.

1609.

Polybius, Historiarum libri qui supersunt. Is. Casaubonus ex antiquis libris emendavit latine vertit et commentariis illustravit. Æneæ vetustissimi Tactici commentarius de toleranda obsidione. Is. Casaubonus primus vulgavit latinam interpretationem et notas adjecit . . . Paris, Drouart, 1609, fol.

Other copies have 'apud Claudium Marnium et hæredes Johannis Aubrii.' A certain number of copies were taken by the Frankfort publisher on condition of being allowed to issue them with his own title page. The book was printed in Paris, on French paper.

1610.

1. Jos. Justi Scaligeri Julii Cæsaris a Burden filii opuscula varia antehac non edita, Paris, Beys, 1610, 4to.

Ed. by Casaubon with preface, 13 leaves, unpaged.

2. Suetonius . . . Editio altera, ab auctore emendata et locis quamplurimis aucta . . . Paris, apud Hadrianum Beys, 1610, fol.

1611.

Is. Casauboni ad Frontonem Ducæum S. J. Theologum epistola, Londini, Norton, 1611, 4to.

1612.

1. Is. Casauboni ad epistolam illustr. et reverendiss. Cardinalis Perronii responsio, Londini, Norton, 1612, 4to.

The date at the end of this 'Reply' is 5 eid. novemb. 1612. But, as observed by Bliss, Andrewes' Works, 11. 6, note, this must be an error for 1611. See eph. 897, 898. The king had the

MS. and kept it for some months; see ep. 760. It was finally put into the printer's hands in April, 1612. See eph. 924.

2. Athenæus.

In this year the text and latin version of Athenæus were reprinted at Lyons; Lugduni, apud viduam Antonii de Harsy, ad insigne scuti Coloniensis, 1612, fol.

In this pref. the 'typographus' tells the reader that Isaac Casaubon 'nobis notarum loco lectiones quasdam varias et conjecturas suppeditavit.'

I have not examined this edition. But I suspect that Casaubon had nothing to do with it, and that the 'various readings' and 'conjectures' were taken by Madame de Harsy's editor from the volume of 'Animadversiones' published by Casaubon in 1600.

1614.

De rebus sacris et ecclesiasticis exercitationes xvi ad Baronii annales, Londini, 1614, fol.

1615.

A letter of M^r. Casaubon, with a memorial of M^ris. Elizabeth Martin, late deceased. . . . 8vo., London, printed by Nicholas Okes, for George Norton, 1615.

The title page is separate, but the letter forms an appendix to 'The King's Way to Heaven,' by James Martin, Master of Arts, 1615, 8vo.

1617.

Isaaci Casauboni ad Polybii historiarum librum primum commentarii, ad Jacobum i, Magnæ Britanniæ regem serenissimum, (oliva Stephani), Parisiis, apud Antonium Stephanum, typographum regium, 1617, 8vo.

1621.

Is. Casauboni Animadversionum in Athenæi deipnosophistas libri xv. . . . secunda editio postrema authoris cura diligenter recognita, et ubique doctissimis additionibus aucta . . . Lugduni, ap. viduam Ant. de Harsy et Petrum Ravaud, in vico Mercuriali, ad insigne S. Petri, 1621, fol.

The 'diligenter recognita' of this title page is certainly fraudulent. As to the 'additions,' Meric, or Florence, Casaubon

may have communicated some of Isaac's 'secundæ curæ,' but I have not collated the edition, with a view to ascertain this.

1637.

Isaaci Casauboni epistolæ quotquot reperiri potuerunt nunc primum junctim editæ, Hagæ Comitis, ex officina Theodori Maire, 1637, 4to.

1656.

Isaaci Casauboni Epistolæ editio secunda lxxxii epistolis auctior et juxta seriem temporum digesta, curante Johanne Georgio Grævio, Magdeburgi et Helmstadi, sumptibus Christiani Gerlachi et Simonis Beckensteini, Brunsvigæ, excudit Andreas Dunckerus, 1656, 4to.

1684.

M. Tullii Ciceronis Epistolarum Libri xvi ad T. Pomponium Atticum ex recensione Joannis Georgii Grævii cum ejusdem animadversionibus, et notis integris Petri Victorii, Paulli Manutii, Leonardi Malhespinæ, D. Lambini, Fulvii Ursini, Sim. Bosii, Fr. Junii, Aus. Popmæ, nec non selectis Sebast. Corradi, Is. Casauboni, Joan. Fred. Gronovii et aliorum, Amstelodami, sumptibus Blaviorum, et Henrici Wetstenii, 1684, 2 vols. 8vo.

Casaubon's notes extend over the first seventeen epistles of Book 1. only. The papers from which they were printed were supplied to James Gronovius by Meric shortly before his death in 1671. They represented one of Isaac's courses of lectures at Geneva. See Cas. ep. 986.

From these papers Grævius selected 'quæ cæterorum interpretum studium et sollertiam fugerant.'

1709.

Isaaci Casauboni Epistolæ insertis ad easdem responsionibus accedunt huic tertiæ editioni præter trecentas ineditas epistolas, Isaaci Casauboni vita; ejusdem dedicationes, præfationes, prolegomena, poemata, fragmentum de libertate ecclesiastica, item Merici Casauboni I. F. epistolæ, dedicationes, præfationes, prolegomena, et tractatus quidam rariores, curante

Theodoro Janson ab Almeloveen, Roterodami, typis Casparis Fritsch et Michaelis Böhm, 1709, fol.

1710.

Casauboniana, sive Isaaci Casauboni varia de scriptoribus librisque judicia . . . ex varii (*sic*) Casauboni MSS. in bibliotheca bodleiana reconditis nunc primum erutæ a Jo. Christophoro Wolfio, prof. publ. philosoph. extraordinario in academ. Witteberg. . . . Hamburgi, sumptibus Christiani Libezeit, typis Philippi Ludovici Stromeri, anno 1710, 12mo.

1710.

In Kuster's Aristophanes, published in this year at Amsterdam, 2 vols. fol., were printed 'Isaaci Casauboni Notæ in Equites.' They are in tom. 2. pp. 76–103. Kuster says of them, præf. ad lectorem, 'Notæ Casauboni licet non æque elaboratæ sint ac alia, quæ habemus, eruditissimi illius viri opera, prælectiones enim potius fuisse videntur, in tironum usum conscriptæ, plurima tamen in illis occurrunt ex interioribus literis deprompta, subtiliterque et ingeniose excogitata, neque auctoris sui nomine indigna.'

The MS. from which Kuster had them copied is now in the Bibl. nat. These notes on the 'Equites' are not the same as the 'in Aristophanem observata,' contained in Advers. tom. 23, in the Bodleian, which are very slight memoranda jotted down when reading through the whole of Aristophanes, at Strassburg, in January, 1593.

1827.

Epistolæ virorum doctorum ineditæ quas e codice autographo bibliothecæ academicæ Lignicensis transscripsit Dr. Fridericus Schultze academiæ equestris professor et bibliothecæ præfectus, Lignitii, 1827, 4to.

Contains 16 letters of Is. Casaubon to Abraham de Bibran.

PSEUDEPIGRAPHA.

1. Is. Casauboni corona regia id est Panegyrici cujusdam vere aurei quem Jacobo I magnæ Britanniæ etc., regi fidei defensori delinearat fragmenta ab Euphormione inter schedas τοῦ μακαρίτου inventa, collecta et in lucem edita 1615 pro officina regia Jo. Bill, Londini, 12mo. pp. 128.

A mock panegyric of James I, fathered upon Casaubon by its author, Scioppius, to give effect to the satire. A reward was offered for the discovery of the author, which was claimed, as late as 1639, by Jean de Perriet, a Brussels bookseller. See Calendar of Clar. State Papers, I. 195.

2. Misoponeri Satyricon, cum notis aliquot ad obscuriora prosæ loca et græcorum interpretatione, Lugduni Batavorum, apud Sebastianum Wolzium, 1617, 12mo. pp. 143.

This is attributed by Placcius to Isaac Casaubon, and Placcius was copied by Quérard. The error has not been corrected in the new edition of Quérard by M. Gustave Brunet.

3. The originall of idolatries: or The birth of heresies: a true, sincere, and exact description of all such sacred signes, sacrifices, and sacraments as have been instituted and ordained of God since Adam, with the true source and lively anatomy of the sacrifice of the masse. First faithfully gathered out of sundry greeke and latine authors, as also out of divers learned fathers; by that famous and learned ISAAC CASAUBON, and by him published in French, for the good of God's church: and now translated into English for the benefit of this monarchy; by Abraham Darcy, London, printed by authoritie for Nathaniel Butter, anno dom. 1624, 4to. pp. 108.

4. Phrynicus, Epitome dictionum atticarum libri iii . . . Aug. Vindel. typis Michaelis Mangeri, 1601, 4to.

At the end of the volume, in some copies, and following 'Index auctorum,' are 'ad Phrynicum et ejus interpretem viri illustris

notæ, a Davide Hoeschelio Augustano editæ . . . Aug. Vindel. 4to.

Of these brief notes, Ménage, Antibaillet, 1. 161, says, 'I have heard M. Mentel say that Casaubon was the author.' No one, however, can doubt that they are by Scaliger, and, as Scaliger's, they were reprinted by de Pauw, and by Lobeck, the latter adding, 'nam Scaligeri quidem nullam unam literam perire fas duco.' See Bernays, 'J. J. Scaliger,' p. 183.



